Daily Report

Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-91-229
Wednesday
27 November 1991

Daily Report
Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-91-229 CONTENTS *27 November 1991*

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

NOTICE TO READERS: The United States Government recognizes the independence of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Arms Control & Disarmament

Commentary On Soviet-U.S. Disarmament Talks *[Moscow International]* 1

Worldwide Issues

Western Response to Novo-Ogarevo Decisions Noted *[IZVESTIYA 27 Nov]* 1
Lithuania's Vagnorius Addresses Tokyo G-7 Meeting *[BALTFAX]* 2
Further Reportage on Moscow News Briefings 2
Grachev on 'Aggravated' NKAO Area *[TASS]* 2
Churkin on Velayati Visit *[TASS]* 2
Seminar Urges Help Fighting Serious Crime *[Moscow TV]* 2

Northeast Asia

Customs Agreement With South Korea Reported *[TASS]* 3
Diplomat Says DPRK Should Accept IAEA Control *[INTERFAX]* 3

Near East & South Asia

Iran's Velayati Pays Visit, Holds Meetings 3
Received by Gorbachev *[TASS]* 3
Views Middle East, Afghanistan *[TASS]* 4
Meets Shevardnadze *[TASS]* 4
Discusses Joint Economic Commission *[IRNA]* 4
Relations With Republics Stressed *[Moscow TV]* 5
Meets Experts in Moscow *[Tehran Radio]* 5
Results of Moscow-Mujahidin Talks Assessed *[TRUD 19 Nov]* 5
Settlement Hopes Receding *[Moscow TV]* 6
Envoy Views Mujahidin Visit *[Moscow TV]* 6
Warning Against 'Concessions' Noted *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 19 Nov]* 8
Uranium Confiscated From Iraq Arrives in Moscow *[Russian TV]* 9
PLO Body, Palestinian Negotiators Hold Talks *[Sanaa Radio]* 9
Bovin Expected To Be Approved as Ambassador *[INTERFAX]* 9

West Europe

Gorbachev Meets Spanish Deputies 26 Nov 10
Explains Political Union Stance *[TASS]* 10
Discusses Ukraine Situation *[INTERFAX]* 11
French Edition of Gorbachev Book Discussed *[PRAVDA 14 Nov]* 11
Chairman Silayev Visits Brussels for EC Talks 14
Cited on Purposes of Visit *[IZVESTIYA 27 Nov]* 14
Credit Agreement Signed *[TASS]* 15
Understanding With EC Stressed *[Moscow TV]* 15

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Political & Social

Circumstances Hampering Treaty Signing Viewed 16
Designation Disputed *[TASS]* 16
Lubenchenko on Difficulties *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 27 Nov]* 16
Arguments Cited *[IZVESTIYA 27 Nov]* 17
Presidential Adviser Interviewed *[Moscow TV]* 18
'Completely New Draft' *[Moscow TV]* 18
Highlights According to TASS *[TASS]* 19
Amendments to Draft *[IZVESTIYA 27 Nov]* 19
Nagorno-Karabakh Prompts Council Discussion 21
Peaceful Solution Sought *[Moscow Radio]* 21
Ter-Petrosyan, Mutalibov Attend *[INTERFAX]* 21
Foreign Ministry Spokesman Addresses Reforms 21
Unaffected by Treaty Delays *[INTERFAX]* 21
Elaborates on Functions *[Ekho Moskvy Radio]* 21
Silayev To Meet EC Leadership, Sign Documents *[Moscow TV]* 23
Economic Treaty Agreements To Be Discussed *[Moscow International]* 24
Republics' Views on Single Currency Cited *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 22 Nov]* 24
Grachev Assesses Recent Gorbachev Trip *[TASS]* 26
Events Surrounding Pankin Dismissal, Reassignment
[Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER 24 Nov] 26
Alksnis Discusses Union, Baltics *[TASS]* 27
MVD Crime Fighter Switches to New Service *[TASS]* 27
Poll Highlights Scale of Poverty in Union *[INTERFAX]* 28
Emigration Reportedly To Peak in 1993-1994 *[TASS]* 29
Official Comments on AIDS Situation *[Moscow International]* 29
TASS Carries Press Review for 27 Nov 30

Economic

Republics' Export, Import Balances Revealed *[INTERFAX]* 31
Funds May Fall Short for 1992 Grain Purchases *[INTERFAX]* 31
Aeroflot Airworthiness Considered 'Critical' *[Moscow TV]* 31
Many Expect Economic Catastrophe, Disorder *[INTERFAX]* 32

BALTIC COUNTRIES

Estonia

Army, Border Service Get 15 Percent of Budget *[IZVESTIYA 25 Nov]* 33
Cooperation Protocol Signed With Finland *[Tallinn Radio]* 33

Latvia

Supreme Council on Prisoners' Strike Demands *[Riga Radio]* 33

Lithuania

Landsbergis Comments on Soviet Troops Issue *[Vilnius Radio]* 33
Concern Over Soviet Missiles at Nuclear Plant *[BALTFAX]* 34
Landsbergis Discusses Relations With Poland *[Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA 21 Nov]* 34
Poland Termed 'Greatest Threat' *[Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE 22-24 Nov]* 36
Landsbergis Aide Admits Cooperation With KGB *[Radio Rossii]* 36
Ministry Seeks Help in Finding OMON Members *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 23 Nov]* 36

RSFSR

Federation Affairs

Yeltsin, Regional Representatives View Reforms *[TASS]* 37
Further on Meeting *[Moscow TV]* 37
Shokhin Discusses Price Liberalization *[Radio Rossii]* 37
Yeltsin Signs More Presidential Decrees 38
On Federal Security Agency *[Radio Rossii]* 38
On Emergencies Committee *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 22 Nov]* 38
On Economic Interests Chief *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 22 Nov]* 38
On Conversion Committee *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 23 Nov]* 38
On Tax Exemptions *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 23 Nov]* 39
'Crisis' Between Parliament, Government Viewed *[IZVESTIYA 26 Nov]* 39
Filshin on Independent Foreign Trade Ministry *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 20 Nov]* 40
Possible 'Nuclear Exchange' With Ukraine Viewed *[MOSCOW NEWS 2-9 Nov]* 40
Fund Director on Problems in Gold Industry *[TASS]* 41
'Republican Humanitarian Party' Founded *[Radio Rossii]* 41
Abolition of Union Finance Ministry Viewed *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 26 Nov]* 41

Local Affairs

Antonov-24 Plane Crashes in Tartar Republic *[TASS]* 42
Gorbachev Sends Condolences *[TASS]* 42
Tatarstan To Sign Union Treaty 'on Its Own' *[INTERFAX]* 42
Kazan Rally Wants Ta'ar President's Resignation *[Moscow TV]* 42
Chepetsk Nuclear Plant To Produce Jewelry *[TASS]* 42
Further Reportage on Chechen-Ingush Situation 43
Parliament Approves Draft Law *[Moscow Radio]* 43
'Threat' to Republic From Within *[PRAVDA 20 Nov]* 43
Martial Law Extended 'Indefinitely' *[IZVESTIYA 21 Nov]* 44
Protesters Demand Return of Lands *[INTERFAX]* 44
Dudayev Comments on Supplies *[Moscow TV]* 44
'Hooligans' Storm Battalion *[IZVESTIYA 23 Nov]* 44
Groznyy Rally Gives Demands *[Radio Rossii]* 45
Report of Troops at Border 'False' *[TASS]* 45
Assembly Extends Dudayev's Powers *[Moscow Radio]* 45
Dudayev Announces Call-Up *[Radio Rossii]* 45
Dudayev Interviewed on Russian Ties, Events *[Abu Dhabi AL-ITTIHAD AL-USBU'I 21 Nov]* 45
Further on Dudayev's Views *[London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT 25 Nov]* 48
Deputy Interviewed on Russians' Migration *[ROSSISKAYA GAZETA 22 Nov]* 50
Moscow Mayor Signs Decree Privatizing Housing *[INTERFAX]* 51
Popov Denies Disagreements With Government *[Russian TV]* 51
Popov Receives Japanese Business Delegation *[Tokyo KYODO]* 51
Moscow Mayor's Office Takes Over CEMA Assets *[Moscow TV]* 52
North Ossetian Minister on Self-Defense Order *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 21 Nov]* 52
New 'Our Ossetia' Movement Chairman Cited *[PRAVDA 25 Nov]* 52
'Serious Food Shortage' in St. Petersburg *[Tokyo KYODO]* 52
Kirov Plant Stops Producing Military Equipment *[Moscow International]* 53
Local Government Reforms in Arkhangelsk Oblast *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 23 Nov]* 53
'Extreme' Unrest Hits Karachayevo-Cherkessia *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 23 Nov]* 53

WESTERN REPUBLICS

Belorussia

Parliament Head Supports Confederation Plan *[TASS]* 55
Procurator General Comments on Communist Party *[TASS]* 55

Moldova

President Snegur Interviewed on Independence *[Bucharest ADEVARUL 21 Nov]* 55
Comments on Unification With Romania *[Bucharest ADEVARUL 22 Nov]* 57
Republic To Repay Portion of USSR Debt *[TASS]* 58
Further on Debt *[Bucharest ROMPRES]* 58
Social Democrats Favor Presidential Elections *[Bucharest ROMPRES]* 58

Ukraine

Kravchuk on Union Treaty, Referendum Issue *[Russian TV]* 58
Expresses 'Lack of Faith' *[TASS]* 59
Working People's Union on Treaty *[Kiev Radio]* 59
State Bank Official Previews New Currency *[TASS]* 59
Presidential Contenders on Black Sea Fleet *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 23 Nov]* 60

CAUCASUS

Interrepublic Affairs

Presidents Invited to Tbilisi for Talks *[Tbilisi Radio]* 61
IZVESTIYA Notes Threat of 'Real War' *[27 Nov]* 61

Armenia

Appeal to Azerbaijan To Avoid Confrontation *[ARMENPRES]* 62
National Movement Calls For Peace *[INTERFAX]* 62
Democratic Party Fears Economic War *[TASS]* 63

Azerbaijan

Further Reportage Highlights NKAO Developments 63
Rallies in Gendzha, Sheki Reported *[Baku Radio]* 63
Supreme Soviet Annuls Autonomy *[Baku Radio]* 63
Change in Status, Stepanakert Noted *[TASS]* 64
President Outlines Measures *[Radio Rossii]* 64
President Opposes End in Relations *[Radio Rossii]* 64
Political Solution Still Sought *[Moscow TV]* 64
Official Recommends Eviction *[Baku Radio]* 65
Liberation Army Issues Statement *[Ekho Moskvy Radio]* 65
Electricity Back; Hostages Exchanged *[Radio Rossii]* 65

Georgia

Gorbachev Promises Independence Recognition *[Radio Rossii]* 65
More Reportage on Conflict in South Ossetia 65
Emergency Lifted in Tskhinvali, Java *[INTERFAX]* 65
General Mobilization Begun *[Radio Rossii]* 66
Renewed Violence Wounds Seven *[TASS]* 66
Russian Security Guarantees Questioned *[Moscow TV]* 66

CENTRAL ASIA

Kazakhstan

Presidential Election Campaign Reviewed *[IZVESTIYA 26 Nov]* 67
89 Percent Favor Nazarbayev *[TASS]* 67
Nazarbayev Comments on Political Situation *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 23 Nov]* 67
Nazarbayev Visits Karaganda; Discusses Reform *[Moscow Radio]* 70
Nazarbayev Reassures Semipalatinsk Staff *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 20 Nov]* 71
Prosecutor Objects To Transfer of Facilities *[IZVESTIYA 23 Nov]* 71
Iran's Velayati Discusses Cooperation *[Tehran Radio]* 71

Kyrgyzstan

U.S. Military Attache Tours Republic 20-22 Nov *[TASS]* 71

Tajikistan

Presidential Vote Tallies Detailed *[INTERFAX]* 72
Khudonazarov Protests *[Dushanbe Radio]* 72
Khudonazarov Discusses Election *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 22 Nov]* 72
Muslim Leader Opposes Islamic State *[Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG 22 Nov]* 73
Trade, Economic Treaty With Lithuania Signed *[Radio Rossii]* 74
Border Troops Deny Penetration by Afghan Group *[Moscow Radio]* 74

Turkmenia

Communist Party Central Committee Plenum Held *[PRAVDA 25 Nov]* 74

Arms Control & Disarmament

Commentary On Soviet-U.S. Disarmament Talks

LD2611160391 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1310 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Commentary by Yuriy Solton]

[Text] The Soviet-American consultations on disarmament are underway in Washington. There is substantive talk on the reciprocal initiatives of the United States and the USSR presidents concerning simultaneous unilateral cuts in nuclear arsenals. Now a commentary prepared by Yuriy Solton.

When consultations started on Monday [25 November], George Bush forwarded to the American Senate for ratification the treaty on the reduction and limitation of strategic offensive arms signed in Moscow last July. The accord provides for reducing the strategic nuclear forces of the two countries by approximately 35 percent. In his message to the Senate, the President stressed that a stable balance in the strategic arms of the Soviet Union and the United States will help to strengthen one of the fundamental principles of a new world order. According to this postulate, any conflict must not be resolved by nuclear arms. Moscow accepts such a view and offers to go further. In keeping with the treaty, each of the two countries are to be left with 6,000 nuclear warheads. Mikhail Gorbachev suggests that this level should be brought down to 5,000 pieces. To reciprocate Washington's steps, Moscow is taking off ready for combat mode heavy bombers and 500 intercontinental ballistic missiles. It's stopping the development of a mobile small intercontintenal missile and has imposed a one-year moratorium on nuclear testing. Measures are being adopted to implement decisions that lead to the elimination of battlefield nuclear weapons.

Regrettably, now when the former USSR is nonexistent and a new union is only in the making, unforeseen difficulties are emerging [words indistinct] to put disarmament programs into effect. The ratification of the treaties is being delayed. There are also problems with the practical liquidation of nuclear warheads, since this requires considerable spending and the country can hardly afford meeting even its vital needs. But these difficulties, as it seems, can be overcome. American aid already approved by the Senate will provide significant support. United States legislators have set aside $500 million for technical assistance to the Soviet Union to scrap its battlefield nuclear weapons.

But naturally the main hopes are being pinned in this country on the creation of a new confederative democratic State, a union of sovereign states. The draft of a Union treaty to be sent to the parliaments of republics for debate this week envisages the retention of single armed forces and single control over nuclear arms. This control will be exercised by a president elected by all the people and by the other bodies of central power. All this confirms that Moscow will observe all its earlier arms reduction commitments and the process of disarmament will continue. The Soviet-American consultations in Washington are just called upon to determine the concrete framework of this process and pave the way for closer cooperation between the two countries.

Worldwide Issues

Western Response to Novo-Ogarevo Decisions Noted

PM2611211191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Nov 91 Union Edition p 1

[IZVESTIYA PRESS SERVICE Report: "Novo-Ogarevo Decisions Caught Even West Unawares"]

[Text] The State Council sitting 25 November, which discussed the fate of the future Union of Sovereign States, ought to have provoked extensive international responses. It is surprising but, 24 hours after the decision of the leaders of the seven sovereign republics not to initial the draft of the new Union treaty but to send it to their parliaments for examination, the reaction to this event abroad has been very modest.

The results of this sitting, it seems, took everyone by surprise, including Western observers. Nevertheless, we can already judge the tone of Western assessments.

The leading news agencies confined themselves in the main to an account of the State Council's decisions.

One is struck by the pessimism with which some Western commentaries are imbued. REUTER speaks of "Gorbachev's defeat," AFP also speaks of a "new failure" for the president. What we see here is a direct linking of the results of the State Council sitting with the personal political efforts of our head of state. Such an assessment, we think, is premature and cannot be viewed as the result of a profound analysis of the situation. Indeed, one could accept these assessments or take issue with them if there were convincing arguments behind them. But in this case there are none.

For example, there are no replies to the following questions: Can the refusal of the heads of the seven republics to initial the draft treaty be viewed as a lack of political commitment to this document on their part; or is it a question of a failure to correspond (in their opinion) to the republics' economic interests; is this a result of the decline in the political prestige of the Union president or the purely technical difficulties of coordinating a document of vital importance to the sovereign states?

Nor can our roundup ignore in the many international responses the predominant conclusion that Gorbachev was unjustifiably optimistic in expecting the signing of the treaty this year.

We would not want to end this review of the initial international commentaries on a pessimistic note (even though that is what dominates these assessments). Dirk

Sager, chief Moscow correspondent of the German TV station ZDF, expressed some optimism, in our opinion:

"Of course, it may be that the republic parliaments will now lapse into an orgy of endless discussions. But they do not have a single substantial argument now: They cannot say that they have been deprived of a voice.

"It should not be forgotten that the republic parliaments lack parliamentary traditions, they have no factions, and the majority changes like the ebb and flow of the tide with one exception—they lack the tide's regularity. The presidents of only some of the Islamic republics have reliable followers. Even Yeltsin cannot be confident of the majority's support.

"I continue to trust in the strength of reason. I think that the Union treaty is still feasible. The alternative to it could be the situation that Europe went through 300 years ago: wars, poverty, hunger."

Lithuania's Vagnorius Addresses Tokyo G-7 Meeting

OW2611211791 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1658 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Prime Minister of Lithuania Gedimanas Vagnorius spoke in Tokyo at a meeting of the G-7 and called on Western states to support economic and political relations not only with the republics but also with the central government of the USSR. Lithuanian radio reported this November 26th.

Vagnorius feels that further Western economic aid to the Soviet republics should only happen if the republics continue economic reforms. The prime minister emphasized that a committee of Soviet and Western experts should observe the progress of these reforms.

Vagnorius remarked that Lithuania "is the most progressive of all Soviet republics on the path to economic reform, since the republic has already passed laws on a new economic system."

Further Reportage on Moscow News Briefings

Grachev on 'Aggravated' NKAO Area

LD2611170791 Moscow TASS in English 1605 GMT 26 Nov 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Andrey Pershin and Sergey Petukhov]

[Text] Moscow November 26 TASS—At its meeting on Monday, the USSR State Council discussed the situation around Nagorno-Karabakh, which was sharply aggravated recently, and relations between Armenia and Azerbaijan, presidential press spokesman Andrey Grachev said at a briefing in Moscow today, responding to journalists' questions.

He added the State Council unanimously decided to propose to representatives of both republics to arrive in Moscow to attend a meeting of the State Council so that the State Council could discuss with their participation "a very dangerous and alarming situation and elaborate decisions that would prevent this bloody conflict from being escalated, which may pose even greater threats."

Presidents Mutalibov and Ter-Petrosyan confirmed their consent to fly to Moscow. This issue is expected to be discussed with their participation at the State Council's meeting at 12:00 on Wednesday.

Churkin on Velayati Visit

LD2511172191 Moscow TASS in English 1546 GMT 25 Nov 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Aleksander Krolikov and Sergey Postanogov]

[Text] Moscow November 25 TASS—Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze welcomed Foreign Minister of Iran 'Ali Akbar Velayati's wish to visit a number of Soviet sovereign republics after completing his official stay in Moscow, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vitaliy Churkin said at a briefing today. Churkin pointed out Shevardnadze described as "a positive factor in the Soviet- Iranian relations" the desire of the Iranian foreign minister to develop ties with the former Soviet republics.

Velayati stressed Iran would like to deal with Soviet republics in the framework of Soviet-Iranian relations as a whole and inquired into the possibility of opening up Iranian consular offices in a number of Soviet republics. Shevardnadze answered in the affirmative, Churkin said.

Consultation on experts' level will be held on the concrete aspects of cooperation after which the ministers will meet again. The deputy ministers are to discuss the Afghan problem.

Seminar Urges Help Fighting Serious Crime

LD2211115191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1645 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Recorded report by correspondent Z. Agalakova from the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] [Agalakova] International experience shows that organized crime crossed national borders long ago. It has now become transnational. An international seminar on organized crime took place in Moscow and Suzdal recently. It was attended by leading officials of law enforcement agencies and experts from 14 countries.

[A. Gurov, head of the Main Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs for the drive against organized crime] Everybody present here—and there are

representatives from virtually all the republics—is worried about the problem of fighting organized crime over such a wide area, without a single central agency or structure.

[Agalakova] One of the participants pointed out today that we cannot allow ourselves the luxury of disagreement on the question of practical ways of fighting organized crime.

[Gurov] Of course it would be a luxury. If each state goes its own way and invents the bicycle all over again, it will take up a huge amount of time and resources. All the while, organized crime will be developing. It is already developing fast, overtaking the efforts of law enforcement structures and the actual approach to the struggle. Therefore, people are right when they say it is a luxury. Rather than reinventing what we already have, we should be taking it as a basis. Whether we like it or not, we have to have a federal agency. If we do not create it today, we will have to create it in two or three years' time.

Northeast Asia

Customs Agreement With South Korea Reported

LD2711060191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1440 GMT 26 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Kopnov]

[Text] Tokyo, 26 Nov (TASS)—The USSR will grant South Korea most-favored-nation status in the sphere of customs control as of 1992. This was stated at a news conference in Seoul by USSR Customs Committee Chairman Nikolay Yermakov, who is visiting there.

He said a system of "preliminary customs examination" will be introduced for South Korean goods exported to the USSR in order to simplify procedures for its passage to USSR territory. With this goal in mind it has been proposed to appoint a special agent—in the form of a South Korean firm—which will assume customs control duties directly in the ports of that country before cargoes are shipped to the USSR. All the formalities connected with this are expected to be completed next month.

The YONHAP agency points out in this connection that until now the Soviet Union had introduced such a system only in relation to the United States.

Diplomat Says DPRK Should Accept IAEA Control

OW2711131291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1140 GMT 27 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] "The USSR proceeds from the assumption that any country, including North Korea, that signed the treaty on nonproliferation of nuclear weapons should place all its nuclear facilities under the control of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) within 18 months," a high ranking Soviet diplomat told IF [INTERFAX]. "We always refer to this in our talks with our Korean friends," he added.

North Korea signed the treaty on nonproliferation of nuclear arms back in 1985. However it never placed its nuclear facilities under the IAEA's control. "We find it regretful," the diplomat said. He expressed a negative attitude to the possible emergence of nuclear arms belonging to North or South Korea. The USSR, he stressed, stands for turning the entire peninsula into a denuclearized zone.

Near East & South Asia

Iran's Velayati Pays Visit, Holds Meetings

Received by Gorbachev

LD2611183191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1702 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow, 26 Nov (TASS)—USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev today received 'Ali Akbar Velayati, Iranian minister of foreign affairs, who delivered a personal message from Iran's president, 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani. When he knew the contents, Mikhail Gorbachev said that he shares the positive assessment of Soviet-Iranian relations as friendly and good-neighborly. Their successful development in recent times opens up new prospects for deepening mutually beneficial cooperation corresponding to the interests of both countries.

Mikhail Gorbachev welcomed Iran's considered and responsible attitude to the changes under way in the Soviet Union and its desire, reiterated during the conversation, to develop relations with the sovereign republics, acting in line with the process of renewing the Union. The foreign political activity of the republics enriches our common international politics.

The Iranian parties to the conversation were briefed on the progress of work on the treaty on the Union of Sovereign States. The Soviet president stressed his profound conviction that it will not be possible to escape from the difficult situation in which the country finds itself or to step up the pace of change without forming a new political union. This is now the most important priority issue. Disintegration has now reached such proportions that it already poses a threat to the functioning of society.

Solving this problem is important not just for us but also for the whole world community which, as a rule, shows solidarity with us and is in favor of the Soviet Union being retained and continuing its role as an important buttress for progressive improvements in international relations.

There was a brief discussion relating to the Near East conference. In reaction to the negative Iranian position,

Mikhail Gorbachev said that it is an historic change opening up the prospect of a new era in the Near East. The other methods of solving the problem which have been tried not only brought suffering and adversity to the peoples of the Near East but also proved fruitless. Talks are the only real way.

A joint desire to strengthen common points in the sides' approaches to the Afghan problem was expressed.

Views Middle East, Afghanistan

LD2611170391 Moscow TASS in English 1556 GMT 26 Nov 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Vasiliy Titov]

[Text] Moscow November 26 TASS—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev received in the Kremlin today Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati.

The TASS correspondent was told at the president's office that Velayati conveyed a personal message to Gorbachev from Iranian President 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani that expressed support for changes in the country and an interest in furthering mutually advantageous good neighbourly relations.

The Iranian side counts on the continuation of the earlier agreements and plans to build its further relations with the reformed Soviet Union, proceeding from the preservation and existence of the Union state. It was stressed that given the current changes in the USSR, Iran plans to develop simultaneously relations with sovereign republics, without counterposing them to relations with the Center.

The Soviet side expressed understanding for that approach. It is only natural that former Union republics step up their foreign policy activity, enriching the foreign policy of the state on the whole.

The Soviet president familiarised the Iranian foreign minister with the main approaches to renewal of the union and briefed him on the pace of reform.

The two men exchanged views on a number of international issues, including the Middle East peace conference. They also raised separate aspects of Afghan settlement.

In conclusion Velayati reaffirmed the invitation to the Soviet president to pay an official visit to Iran.

Meets Shevardnadze

LD2611194491 Moscow TASS in English 1920 GMT 26 Nov 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Vasiliy Titov]

[Text] Moscow November 26 TASS—Having finished the Moscow part of the visit, Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati today left Moscow for Alma-Ata. Apart from Kazakhstan, Velayati will also visit Kyrgyzstan, Azerbaijan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenia.

Before his departure from Moscow the Iranian foreign minister held a brief meeting with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze.

Describing results of the Moscow talks, Shevardnadze told TASS that for a year and a half or two years Soviet-Iranian relations have moved towards the development of multilateral large-scale cooperation in the economy, politics and international affairs. This evokes great satisfaction, he emphasised.

"I would like to note that Iran holds a reasonable and well-considered position with regard to difficult events in our country and this should be appreciated," Shevardnadze stressed.

He said that in the course of Velayati's visit a valuable exchange on international issues took place. Shevardnadze singled out the "Afghan issue".

"It should be stressed," he said, "that our positions and interests practically coincide on some main aspects of Afghan settlement."

An agreement was reached to continue that dialogue at ministers' level. "It is quite possible that we will manage to work out a joint statement on Afghan settlement," he noted. The issue of Soviet prisoners of war was also raised, and Iran pledged its support in solving that problem, Velayati said.

Discusses Joint Economic Commission

LD2611094991 Tehran IRNA in English 0729 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow, Nov. 26, IRNA—Tehran-Moscow ties were discussed in the first round of talks between the visiting Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati and his Soviet counterpart Eduard Shevardnadze here Monday.

The talks, held privately, were later attended by the high-ranking political delegations from both countries.

The two sides discussed holding of the Iran-Soviet joint economic commission which due to the changes in the structure of the Soviet Foreign Ministry is unsettled.

Shevardnadze pledged to follow up the issue personally.

The two officials also agreed on formation of expert committees to formulate the draft of agreements for final discussion in the last round of talks to be held next Tuesday before Velayati's departure from Moscow.

Foreign Minister Velayati arrived in Moscow Sunday on a 10-day visit carrying two separate messages from President Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani to Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and President of the Russian Federation Boris Yeltsin.

Meanwhile, in a meeting with Soviet scholars and experts on Iran, Velayati expressed hope that the recent developments in Iran will motivate further research and studies.

He voiced readiness of the Bureau for Political Studies of Iran's Foreign Ministry to cooperate with the Soviet experts in this respect.

Relations With Republics Stressed

LD2611202991 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 26 Nov 91

[From the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] The USSR president received Iranian Foreign Minister Velayati today. They examined what is a traditional set of issues at such meetings—bilateral relations, international politics, and regional problems. Iran is our neighbor and naturally the complex processes taking place in our country were discussed.

[Begin Velayati recording] We have given President Gorbachev a personal message from President Rafsanjani and have reaffirmed our government's intent to maintain its course for further developing goodneighborliness and cooperation with your country. Expanding relations with the sovereign republics will take place within the framework of Soviet-Iranian relations as a whole. Of course, Islam is an important factor of community with certain republics and we will strengthen contacts with them in every possible way. At the same time, we do see them as an inalienable part of the Soviet Union. [end recording]

Meets Experts in Moscow

LD2511233291 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran First Program Network in Persian 1630 GMT 25 Nov 91

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] According to our correspondent's report, 'Ali Akbar Velayati met and conferred with a group of Iranian experts from the Soviet Union in Moscow this afternoon. At the meeting, Mr. Velayati called for USSR's Iranian experts to have more contact with Iranian scientific and research establishments.

Results of Moscow-Mujahidin Talks Assessed

92UF0235A Moscow TRUD in Russian 19 Nov 91 p 3

[Article by TRUD political observer V. Snegirev: "If We Do Not Build Illusions..."]

[Text] Late on Friday night, five days after their arrival, the Afghan mujahidin returned home. Perfectly satisfied, to judge by everything. And they had considerable reason to be. There is much in the joint statement adopted on the results of the negotiations that the leaders of the armed opposition could, should they so wish, portray as their diplomatic victory. The mere fact of their lengthy presence in our capital and the meetings with high-level representatives of the Union and Russian administrations will clearly lend them political weight in the eyes of the other Islamic fundamentalists, and this under the conditions of the unabating power struggle is very important.

As anticipated, the negotiations were not easy and went in terms of their duration far beyond the framework of the original timetable. The Soviet side operated as a single delegation, incorporating, aside from the leaders of the center and Russia, representatives of Tajikistan and other republics also. But, to be candid, it was the unity of our side which was at times lacking, which on one occasion afforded B. Rabbani, head of the mujahidin, reason to remark, not without sarcasm: "You first agree among yourselves and then present your proposals for discussion." The actions of certain Russians, in my opinion, manifested an endeavor to attempt to solve all problems at a stroke....

As certain persons close to the mujahidin maintain, the Afghans outstayed their welcome for the added reason that they very much wanted to meet with B.N. Yeltsin, who is now in their eyes the principal guarantor of possible radical changes in Soviet policy in the Middle East. But for reasons which may only be guessed at the Russian president spurned the dialogue, entrusting this to A.V. Rutskoy. The latter received the opposition leaders twice and at the concluding news conference in the "White House" an hour before the delegation's departure expressed profound satisfaction with the results of the negotiations.

In the course of this news conference Professor B. Rabbani tried, responding to a question of the TRUD correspondent as to how the results of the visit would be received by the leaders of the "irreconcilables," who had declined to make the trip to Moscow, to persuade us that there were no serious disagreements among the different groupings and that if there were, they were of a "purely technical nature." But recent reports received from Afghanistan via various channels testify to just the opposite: A number of top field commanders have hastened to dissociate themselves from the Moscow meeting, declaring their resolve to continue the war. According to certain information, they include Ahmed Shah Masood, the most popular Afghan guerrilla commander, who controls a vast amount of territory in the northeast of the country and who is formally, in terms of party affiliation to the "Islamic Society of Afghanistan," required to submit to B. Rabbani.

The forecasts which said that the field commanders, who are distinguished by merely nominal dependence on their headquarters in Peshawar, will now also ignore the calls for a political settlement could be borne out, it would seem. And if so, some considerable thought should be given to the joint statement adopted in Moscow.

What is meant, for instance, by "agreement on the need for a transfer of power to an Islamic transitional government?" We agreed, but what will the present Kabul leadership's attitude toward this be? And will its representatives, who also consider themselves orthodox Muslims, incidentally, be included in this process? And if not, will it not transpire that, persecuted by Islamic fanatics, tomorrow they will take to the hills with their weapons, having swapped roles with the mujahidin?

Or to take a very painful question for us—concerning the POW's. Unfortunately, the mujahidin, while paying lip service to the fact that this is a humanitarian problem and needs to be resolved outside the political context, hereupon make our specific proposals dependent on a multitude of conditions. True, the agreement specifies that "everything possible will be done for the release of the prisoners," and the mujahidin have undertaken to have the first group sent home before 1 January 1992, but no one wanted to answer the question of how many persons this would be.

Nor were the Afghans, in response to another request heard insistently from the Soviet side, able to present lists of all our boys held by them. And the reason, evidently, is that same one: The political leaders of the opposition do not possess sufficient information on the prisoners and are incapable of influencing the fate of the majority of them. The field commanders holding the Soviet soldiers, on the other hand, have, as they say, drawn their conclusions from the results of the negotiations. Realizing how important this problem is for us, the guerrillas are, by all accounts, prepared to jack up the price of each prisoner. However distressing, we obviously have a long and thorny path to the final goal to negotiate here.

Both parties agreed that elections would be held in the country with the assistance of the Islamic Conference Organization and the United Nations within two years following the handing over of power to a transitional government. All the decisions on treaties concluded between the USSR and Afghanistan since 1978 would be adopted by the transitional government. We confirmed the decision announced earlier concerning the termination as of 1 January 1992 of military supplies, including fuel for combat equipment. Finally, our country undertook to reduce and then recall entirely from Afghanistan its military personnel and also to participate in the restoration of that which has been destroyed on the territory of the neighboring state.

Unless we count the hitches which are inevitable in any serious negotiations, our guests encountered in Moscow only one serious problem. In the restaurant of the Oktyabrskaya Hotel, which even recently belonged to the CPSU Central Committee, they refused the majority of meals on account of their not having been prepared "in a way pleasing to Allah." In the lobby of the former Political Education House in Trubnaya Square the mujahidin, close to the end of their meeting with the mothers of POW's, knelt in the direction of Mecca and said their prayers. They also dress differently from us and have a different attitude toward many things. But whereas yesterday even both they and we viewed one another only through the sights of assault rifles and were unstinting in our use of profanity, the first path has now, it seems, been made in the mine field which divided us. Will there be new steps toward each other, consequently?

Settlement Hopes Receding

LD2611214191 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1630 GMT 26 Nov 91

[From the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] According to reports being received from Pakistan, the Afghan opposition has started preparations to convene a commission involving representatives of the USSR and the mujahedin.

[Correspondent A. Shkirando] You will recall that the decision to set up such a joint body was recently adopted in Moscow during a visit by a delegation of mujahedin to the Soviet Union. I will say straight away that the results of this visit have been appraised in a far from unequivocal way in Afghanistan. Whereas previously fairly optimistic prognoses were expressed in Afghanistan for an Afghan settlement, serious doubts have now appeared there.

In the first place, the results of the talks remain unrecognized by three main groupings of the unreconciled opposition, who hold, in particular, the majority of Soviet POWs. Second, many Afghans will hardly recognize the powers of those leaders of the opposition who are to resolve in Islamabad in December the matter of setting up a transitional Islamic government. The mujahedin recently stated that they are against that part of the UN plan which speaks of a pan-Afghan dialogue.

However, the current government of Afghanistan feels, and this was recently stated by President Najibullah, that the transitional body should only be formed on the basis of a pan-Afghan dialogue.

And so, instead of being unblocked, it seems that the Afghan conflict is being tied into an even tighter knot.

Envoy Views Mujahidin Visit

OW2311100091 Moscow Central Television First Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 2000 GMT 20 Nov 91

[Studio interview with Mohammad Daud Razmyar, ambassador of the Republic of Afghanistan to the USSR; place and date not given; from the "Utro" program—live or recorded; interview conducted in Dari or Pushto with superimposed Russian translation]

[Text] Now let us return to international problems and in particular, Afghanistan. There have been a great variety of reports about it recently, including talks between

Soviet officials and members of the Afghan resistance, the opposition in Moscow as well as the forthcoming end of deliveries of arms to both the Afghan Government and representatives of the opposition. This was agreed upon by the United States and the Soviet Union. Currently interesting changes are also occuring within Afghanistan itself.

In connection with this our program decided to invite the Afghan ambassador in Moscow to our studio. Our colleague, Aleksandr Goryanov, talked with him.

[Begin recording] [Goryanov] Afghanistan is our pain. Two years have passed since the troops were withdrawn from Afghanistan but we continue to be alarmed by events in that country. Recent events taking place in Moscow gave us an opportunity to invite Mr. Ramyar, ambassasdor extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Afghanistan in Moscow, to our studio for the Utro program.

Mr. Ambassador, with profound respect for the lawful envoy of the Afghan people, I would like to begin our conversation here in our studio with what may be an unpleasant question to you. As you know an Afghan opposition delegation has been in Moscow. We call them the Mujahedin. Many views have been expressed about the results of these talks with the Union and Russian leadership. I would now like to ask you for your assessment of these talks and of the visit to Moscow in general.

[Ramyar] First of all I would like to express gratitude to your Utro program for the opportunity to appear on television. I would like to voice the official point of view of the Republic of Afghanistan leadership and my own in particular as the lawful representative of the Afghan people. Yes, recently a group of Afghan opposition members based in Peshawar and Tehran visited Moscow where talks were held—talks of the opposition group with the Russian leadership and the USSR Ministry of Foreign Afairs.

It ought to be noted that the opposition's arrival in Moscow and the Mujahedins' talks with Soviet officials would have been assessed by us as useful if these talks had laid a foundation for a national inter-Afghan dialogue and led to a real achievement of peace in Afghanistan. Unfortunately, however, it must be stated that considerable differences exist among the opposition members and this time, too, they could not propose a concrete, practical, and I would say constructive program for ending the deadlock of war.

I would say that at the Moscow talks we were and remain interested in the main issue, the liberation of Soviet prisoners of war. A positive point in these talks—and we officially emphasized this—could have been this issue, precisely this issue. As before, the government of the Republic of Afghanistan exerted every effort to free the Soviet soldiers, and we will continue to do this in the future.

However the opposition group that arrived in Moscow linked this issue with a political solution. Besides, this group did not represent the whole spectrum of opposition forces, of the Mujahedin as you call them. Deep divisions exist between various groups. As a matter of fact fierce armed clashes are still going on between them with the aim of seizing power and strengthening their positions. This shows once again that the path towards ending the war and a political settlement in Afghanistan has not been shortened today.

[Goryanov] Thank you. Now, as far as I know, one of the leaders of the Afghan opposition, in fact the chief leader to my knowledge, Gulbuddin, has rejected these talks.

[Ramyar] Yes, that is true. When the opposition delegation headed by Rabbani was holding talks—and I would note after this delegation's return to Pakistan, too—not only Gulbuddin but other leaders of fundamental groups as well, including Sayaf and Yunus Khalis, objected to the talks with Moscow. The irreconcilable opposition continues to rely on a military solution to the Afghan issue.

Recently the military pressure on the capital and several important strategic cities in the Republic of Afghanistan has increased, and I would like to stress that this did not occur without the direct interference of Pakistani military circles. It should be added that the results of these talks in Moscow were also rejected by small and large opposition groups operating within Afghanistan. As a matter of fact this was reported by the mass media.

[Goryanov] We know this. Mr. Ambassador, what is the official position of the Kabul Government and of Dr. Najibullah in particular concerning political normalization in Afghanistan?

[Ramyar] Concerning this I can say the following, that the Government of the Republic of Afghanistan and particularly the president of the country, His Excellency Dr. Najibullah, have repeatedly proposed peaceful, constructive, and I note, practical proposals. We have repeatedly stressed that in the war in Afghanistan there is no alternative; there can be no military solution of this problem—only political settlement. We have emphasized that there is no alternative in a military solution to the Afghan problem. Moreover, we have proposed a specific mechanism. We reiterated our support for the proposals of the UN secretary general as well as those of the USSR and U.S. foreign ministers, Boris Pankin and James Baker.

If the sides involved in the conflict take all the points of these documents into account, as the Republic of Afghanistan is doing, then achieving peace in Afghanistan is a practical reality. We have expressed readiness to exert maximum efforts aimed at achieving peace and a political settlement in Afghanistan. We proposed that, first, it is essential to immediately begin an inter-Afghan dialogue. Second, there must be a cease-fire and deliveries of arms and ammunition from all channels and

sources must be frozen. And third, free and democratic elections under the aegis of the UN must be held.

Let the Afghan people determine their own fate, their own future, and their future form of government themselves as a result of these elections. We in turn will profoundly respect their choice, the results of democratic elections in our country. At the same time, today we stress in advance that we are prepared to exert maximum efforts to hold them under present conditions; however if channels of arms supplies to the opposition exist, this circumstance will naturally limit the possibilities of a political settlement. Deliveries of arms will promote a continuation of the 13-year war in Afghanistan, a war that has brought so much grief, suffering, and unhappiness to our people, and the intentions of countries which preach an expansionist policy in relation to our country will unfortunately come to fruition.

I stress once again, a political settlement is possible within the framework of the UN secretary general's statement and the statement of the USSR and U.S. foreign ministers, and of course within the framework of the documents of the Geneva agreements. We, the Republic of Afghanistan and the Soviet Union, have fulfilled our obligations 100 percent; however, the other sides unfortunately have not done so. If all sides fulfill their obligations I am sure that peace and calm will reign in Afghanistan in the nearest future. We are for a durable, just, and principled peace, for a peace that guarantees us sovereignty, territorial integrity, and independence.

[Goryanov] Mr. Ambassador, you have already mentioned Soviet prisoners of war. I would like you to reiterate the position, the official position of your government on this question.

[Ramyar] Yes, in recent years the government and Dr. Najibullah personally have exerted and continue to exert maximum efforts aimed at freeing the Soviet soldiers. As you know, several Soviet youths have already been released. Now I would like to state officially that in the future we, too, will not spare any efforts to free all Soviet war prisoners. We hope that in the immediate future many of them will find themselves in the embraces of their parents and will begin peaceful and tranquil lives. As far as we are concerned this is a humanitarian and humane issue for us.

Permit me to note that the opposition is using this question for various speculative ends, particularly political ones. In my view, the question of freeing Soviet soldiers should not be linked to a political settlement. The opposition must recognize its moral responsibility before the Soviet people, and this question should not be viewed in the framework of a political settlement. Apparently you know that on return to Peshawar Rabbani, the head of the delegation to the Moscow talks refused to take an active part in the cause of freeing the Soviet hostages, as he put it. He said that this was not in his powers, and that it was an extremely difficult task.

As far as we are concerned, I repeat that we view this issue as our moral duty to the Soviet people, and we will undertake all possible measures aimed at freeing them, the Soviet prisoners of war.

[Goryanov] Thank you, this is of supreme importance to us, Mr. Ambassador. We had a political discussion, but our program is called Utro and my next question may be a most unexpected one for you. What do you do in the morning? How does your working day begin? Do you engage in calesthenics, drink coffee or tea? It is interesting, too, see how the working day of an ambassador of a sovereign country to the Soviet Union begins.

[Ramyar] Good question. I swear that I begin every morning by watching your program. I watch your broadcast with great interest every morning during my morning cup of tea. I watch the program and it gives me a great appetite. Thank you very much for inviting me to your studio to express some of my views—I would say political views. Thank you. I wish your program and Soviet television viewers all the best. Thank you. [end recording]

Warning Against 'Concessions' Noted

PM2511133591 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 19 Nov 91 First Edition p 1

[Sergey Semendyayev article under the "Russia and the World" rubric: "The Mujahidin Did Not Leave Empty-Handed. This Means They Will Return"]

[Text] The Afghan mujahidin delegation headed by Burhanuddin Rabbani, one of the opposition leaders, concluded its talks with the USSR, Russian, and Tajik foreign ministers in Moscow last Friday evening. During their visit to Moscow the "intransigents" also met with Russian Vice President A. Rutskoy and with representatives of the Soldiers' Mothers Committee, who were concerned about the fate of our guys now in the mujahidin camp.

During the talks the newspapers carried much conjecture about the substance and possible results of the bilateral discussions in Moscow. However, the chief task of these meetings was probably expressed most accurately by one Russian diplomat, who said that if the mujahidin leave with nothing now, then we will not manage to gather them together a second time. Yes, it was precisely the result that was important here, and this accounts for the difficult course of the talks. In order to reach agreement the mujahidin in turn delayed their departure from Moscow by two days. And then the joint statement was signed Friday, and it cannot be ruled out that it will be the first stone in the foundations of a future settlement.

The statement reflects the political will of both sides for the speediest peaceful resolution of the Afghan problem. The sides adopt a number of pledges here, the most important of which today are, on our side, to end military and technical aid for the Kabul regime before January 1992 and, on the mujahidin side, to release the

first batch of Soviet prisoners of war by the same date, although, as the opposition leaders emphasized in Moscow, they do not make these pledges directly dependent on each other. In addition, delegation head Burhanuddin Rabbani said in an interview for Radio Liberty that he has at hand a Soviet statement acknowledging the need to transfer power in Afghanistan to an Islamic government. If this report is confirmed, the Najibullah regime will lose its last and strongest supporter, in the shape of the USSR—which renders his chances of retaining power in Kabul very illusory.

The mujahidin demanded that Moscow exert direct pressure on him and make him resign. However, the Soviet and Russian representatives refused to adopt such a pledge, basing this quite validly on our country's policy of noninterference in the internal affairs of sovereign states. Not that Najibullah himself can fail to be aware of the whole complexity of his position. Obviously, in the very near future we must expect Kabul to advance some new political and diplomatic initiatives aimed at resolving the protracted Afghan conflict. True, the question remains: Will the mujahidin respond to these initiatives?

Russia's ongoing political and economic interests in Afghanistan oblige our foreign ministry to take active steps for an Afghan settlement, and at the highest level. However, the goodwill of the Russian leadership cannot, unfortunately, serve as a sufficient guarantee that Russia's positions in the Islamic world will be preserved following the accession to power in Kabul of a government formed by the mujahidin. The only thing against which I would like to warn the Russian Government is against the policy of making concessions, which the USSR has recently pursued so "successfully" in the foreign arena.

Uranium Confiscated From Iraq Arrives in Moscow

LD2611235891 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2100 GMT 26 Nov 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Excerpt] UN experts have discovered a new store of enriched uranium at an Iraqi enterprise. The possibility that they will find an atomic bomb that is almost ready is not being ruled out. Experts believe that the search needs to be continued without relying on any further assurances from the Iraqi leadership.

Incidentally, we have already reported that the Soviet Union gave its consent to store on its territory uranium confiscated in Iraq. A few days ago, 11 containers with 78 rods of enriched uranium were delivered to Sheremetyevo Airport in two special flights.

[Correspondent A. Paslyak] Only the MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA newspaper reported the secret cargo from Iraq.

[Begin S. Yermakov recording, not further identified] The recipient country or the supplying country does not have the right to disclose the whereabouts and the route of transportation of highly enriched uranium if the quantity exceeds a certain amount. This right was observed by the Soviet side. [end recording]

[Paslyak] According to Resolution 687 of the UN Security Council, all materials that have been or could still be components of Iraq's nuclear or chemical missile potential are subject to destruction, confiscation, or being rendered harmless. But according to Resolution 707, Iraq relinquishes all rights to nuclear fuel. [passage omitted] [end recording]

PLO Body, Palestinian Negotiators Hold Talks

JN2611175391 Sanaa Voice of Palestine in Arabic 1600 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Text] A Palestinian delegation headed by brother Abu-Mazin [Mahmud 'Abbas], PLO Executive Committee member, met Sunday night with Soviet External Affairs Minister Eduard Shevardnadze at the Soviet Foreign Ministry. The Palestinian delegation was made up of PLO Executive Committee Member Yasir 'Abd-Rabbuh and Palestinian Ambassador to the USSR Nabil 'Amr. The conferees discussed developments in the peace process, the prospects for strengthening Palestinian-USSR coordination in this respect, and issues related to the next stage of the peace negotiations.

Mr. Shevardnadze conveyed through the delegation special greetings from President Gorbachev to brother president Abu-'Ammar [Yasir 'Arafat]. He stressed the importance of continued Palestinian-Soviet coordination, which greatly helped launch and push forward the peace process.

Earlier, another meeting was held at the Soviet Foreign Ministry between Mr. Shevardnadze and some members of the Palestinian delegation to the Madrid talks. The Palestinian team was made up of brother Faysal al-Husayni, the coordinator of the team; brother Dr. Haydar 'Abd-al-Shafi, the chief negotiator; brother Samir 'Abdallah; and brother Sami al-Kilani. During the meeting, which was attended by Soviet Foreign Ministry officials, the Palestinian delegation reviewed developments in the peace process, stressing adherence to national Palestinian objectives. Developments in the occupied Palestinian territories, where Israel is escalating its opression, terrorism, and settlement activity, were also reviewed.

Bovin Expected To Be Approved as Ambassador

OW2511193891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1442 GMT 25 Nov 91

[Report by diplomatic correspondents M. Mayorov and I. Porshnev from the "Diplomatic Panorama;" transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] "DP" [Diplomatic Panorama] was told in the Israeli Embassy that the proposed Soviet ambassador to Israel, Aleksandr Bovin, had not yet been approved by the Israeli side. From circles close to the Israeli Embassy, "DP" has learned that the question is discussed in Jerusalem as "purely technical." Recently, Bovin worked as IZVESTIYA's political correspondent in Israel and is relatively well-known there. As a journalist, he repeatedly spoke in favor of quickly establishing Soviet-Israeli diplomatic relations, which had been broken by Moscow in 1967 due to what is now being called "ideological reasons."

It is thought that Bovin will be approved within the next few days.

Bovin himself has just returned to Moscow from Washington, where he participated in Soviet-American talks on strategic stability. The Soviet delegation, led by Aleksandr Yakovlev, the Soviet president's political consultant, included First Deputy Soviet Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy, the head of Soviet foreign intelligence service Yevgeniy Primakov, state adviser to the Russian president Sergey Stankevich and other men. The inclusion of Bovin in this group can be seen as an assertion of his authority among professional "career" diplomats.

Naming an ambassador to Israel who is not a diplomat is by no means a unique situation. During the period of "stagnation" it was common practice to "punish" party functionaries by making them ambassadors. This tradition was even continued during perestroyka. President Gorbachev made the famous author Chingiz Aytmatov Soviet ambassador to Luxembourg.

The practice of naming people who are not career diplomats to embassies exists in many countries. U.S. President Bush, for example, made businessman Robert Strauss the American ambassador to the USSR.

Nevertheless, the diplomat from the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Relations who spoke with "DP" let it be understood that, without denigrating Bovin's value, the career diplomats on Smolenskiy Square would prefer to see a professional as ambassador to Israel. "However," he emphasized, "I am a government official, and for me the Soviet president's order is law."

West Europe

Gorbachev Meets Spanish Deputies 26 Nov

Explains Political Union Stance

LD2611230891 Moscow TASS in English 2100 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow November 26 TASS—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev today received the delegation from the Congress of Deputies of Spain's Cortes Generales (parliament) headed by Benegas Addam.

The delegation that represents all parliamentary parties was formed back in the days of the August putsch by the decision of the Cortes, which gathered at once in Madrid and instructed the delegation to leave for Moscow immediately. The rapid failure of the coup delayed the delegation's arrival. But today, too, it is a peculiar symbol of Spaniards' solidarity with democracy in the Soviet Union, with the president, and the demonstration of the friendly nature of inter-state relations and great confidence between our countries.

Naturally, Spaniards showed interest in the current situation in the Soviet Union, which is followed closely and with concern in their country.

Gorbachev explained to them in detail his vision of the situation mindful of Monday's meeting of the State Council. He emphasised a political union was being formed in the very complicated situation which is notable for strong disintegration processes unleashed by the August events.

"My stance is as follows: If the Union is losing the form of a state, I refuse to participate in this system. I insist that further disintegration and a still greater delay of the issue of statehood will have the gravest consequences for all sovereign republics, all peoples and each person."

In the talk with the Spanish MP's [members of parliament], Gorbachev dwelt on the formula of a confederative democratic state, which is envisaged by the draft Union treaty. Responding to questions, he evaluated the separatist tendencies inhibiting republics to adopt a final decision based on common sense and the country's objective requirements.

Gorbachev frankly explained how the situation in the Ukraine is developing and why it has an explosive and highly dangerous potential. He expressed hope that common sense will take the upper hand there.

Parliamentarians asked how Spain, other countries and the European Community could now help the Soviet Union. The answer was definite and brief: to fulfill everything on which an accord with governments was reached, and parliaments can play a very important role in implementing these agreements.

"The present choice is historic. If one is to speak within the framework of a far-sighted international policy, rather than pragmatically, truly extraordinary approaches are needed. The political set-up of Europe and the future of the world hinge on what the reform of the Soviet Union will be crowned with," he said.

Gorbachev recalled that in the past he repeatedly warned about particular responsibility that attempts to conduct a political gamble with orientation at separatism should be absolutely excluded. [sentence as received] "The Yugoslav variant in our country is a catastrophe for all," he said.

Gorbachev assured the visitors that concern about the USSR's nuclear control was ungrounded now, but a political union was also needed to dispel these doubts.

Gorbachev asked to convey greetings to the Spanish people, the king and the prime minister of Spain, gratitude for solidarity, understanding and support.

Those attending the meeting included: M.A. Martinez, A. Munos-Alonso, J. Ruperez Rubio, J.R. Caso Garcia, I. Anasagasti Olabeaga, E. Larranaga, L. Recorder-Miralles, R. Peralta, A.T. Alimzhanov, K.D. Lubenchenko, A.S. Chernyayev, Ambassadors Jose Cuenca Anaya and I.S Ivanov [name as received].

Discusses Ukraine Situation

OW2611182591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1730 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Work on the final document on the formation of a political Union of Sovereign States is in a difficult phase, made more complicated by the August coup attempt and the disintegration of order. One of the Soviet president's spokespeople informed "INTERFAX" that Gorbachev commented on this at a meeting with a group of deputies from the General Cortes, or Spanish parliament.

According to this information, the Soviet leader insists on maintaining a confederation of democratic states with a united defense organization, foreign policies, market and united state organs in the form of a president and a Supreme Council.

In Gorbachev's opinion, in order to successfully realize the program for reform in the Soviet Union there must be agreement on political unity and cooperation with Western countries. In this context he said that the decisions to grant aid may be held up at a congressional level, and this, considering the extreme situation in the Soviet Union, could have very negative consequences.

Members of the Spanish parliament noted that the processes occurring now in the Soviet Union are having serious effects on world politics, in particular they demand the creation of premises to strengthen international peace and stability. Because of this, Spain is in favor of stability for the Union and for its unity in face of separatist propaganda.

The discussion, which lasted twice as long as planned, was mostly about the Ukraine. December 1st the Ukraine is holding presidential elections and a referendum on sovereignty. The Soviet President expressed hope that common sense would triumph at the republican referendum, since the determination to become a sovereign state could have catastrophic consequences. Gorbachev emphasized that if certain Western powers had not supported the separatists in Yugoslavia at one point, the situation in the country could not have disintegrated to such a point.

The sides also touched on the question of the Ukraine's atomic capabilities. Gorbachev emphasized that the West need not worry, all atomic weapons are entirely under centralized control and that these questions will be decided with regard to the international community.

French Edition of Gorbachev Book Discussed

92UF0228A Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Nov 91 p 5

[Article by PRAVDA staff correspondent V. Bolshakov in the column "Journalistic Investigation": "Who Put M. Gorbachev in a Bind?"]

[Text] Paris—On 4 November of this year, PRAVDA published an article by its Paris staff correspondent V. Bolshakov "An Incident With the President's Book" which discussed the publication of M.S. Gorbachev's book *The Putsch*in France.

In conjunction with this publication, Presidential Press Secretary A. Grachev sent to the editorial office a letter by Presidential Aide A. Chernyayev, requesting that it be brought to the attention of V. Bolshakov, which was done. As A. Grachev observed in a companion note, "the letter's content may be of interest to the readers of PRAVDA." Perhaps so. This is why we are publishing the full text of the letter by A. Chernyayev, as well as a commentary on it by our staff correspondent V. Bolshakov.

'I Am the One'

To PRAVDA Paris correspondent Bolshakov

I am the one "from Gorbachev's secretariat" who had something to do with proofreading the text of his book, and whom you publicly suspected of having all kinds of intentions.

Here we are.

1. I sat opposite Gorbachev in Foros when his communications were restored and he called various figures. From among foreigners, he called **only Bush**from Foros, and no one else.

2. No foreign figure could have known when Gorbachev's communications were restored in order to try calling him "at that precise moment."

3. All rights to distribute the book everywhere, with the exception of German-speaking countries, were assigned to the Anglo-American publishing house Harper and Collins. Plainly, nobody had the right to "revise" any more the French, or any other edition from Moscow. This goes to the issue of "slovenliness" or "disrespect for the French" which you reported in your article with such relish.

4. This manufactured "fly in the ointment" is absent in both the English and Russian editions. It is absent in the authorized manuscript, too.

5. Since you decided to play up this "fly," along with the French MM [mass media], you could have come to Biarritz on the 31st [October] and queried me about the actual state of affairs, or just given me a phone call. However, it appears that you were not particularly interested in the facts in this case.

6. The publication of this book by Gorbachev at a time when the whole world is following what is happening in our country is a good occasion for a serious essayist to discuss the content of the book. Instead, you are engaging in cheap speculation.

Please accept, etc.

[Signed] A. Chernyayev, aide to the USSR president

'I Did Not Want To Revisit the Topic, But....'

Esteemed Mr. Chernyayev!

They faxed your letter to me. I believe that its tone is absolutely impermissible. Alas, I cannot even take offense on this account: Many years on the staff of the powers that be gave you no experience in talking to journalists in a different manner.

However, I cannot disregard the passages in your letter which directly impune my honor as a journalist and in which the reputation of the newspaper PRAVDA is called into question.

Apparently, you do not like the fact that, without asking for your permission, PRAVDA invaded "the forbidden zone" and, in keeping with the laws of glasnost, discussed the incident involving the French edition of M.S. Gorbachev's book. Indeed, in this instance you are absolutely correct: The passage which appears in the French text of the book *The Putsch* by M.S. Gorbachev is absent in the English and Russian editions:

"A conversation with President Bush was held from Foros.

"President Mitterrand was supposed to call. However, it did not work out. I regret it to this day. However, in Moscow I immediately asked to be put through to him."

For several days, the French mass media (MM, as you abbreviate it), indeed vigorously discussed the issue of why a different wording of this paragraph appears in the English edition: It is written that Gorbachev's mother was supposed to call him rather than Mitterrand. The right-wing press "hinted" in a variety of ways that they deliberately replaced mother with Mitterrand, in the case of France, in order to thus state the unhappiness of Moscow with the position taken by the president of France during the August putsch.

I discussed in detail the underpinnings of this political play by the right wing and the reasons why we should pay more attention to the nuances of internal political struggle in France in structuring our relations with that country, in an article published in PRAVDA on 4 November.

I will only add that clarifications which journalists were given by representatives of the Novosti Publishing House in Moscow, which is publishing the Russian edition of *The Putsch*, and by other officials, did not solve the mystery surrounding this passage about Mitterrand.

Along with my French and other foreign colleagues, I had no reason to disbelieve my own eyes. Contrary to your accusations, we had specific facts before us. First of all, a photocopy of the manuscript of the book by M.S. Gorbachev, in Russian, in which the very passage about Mitterrand was printed, black on white, on page 23. Incidentally, this text was reproduced on the pages of a number of French newspapers together with the clarifications of the publishing house of Olivier Orban [as transliterated] which published the book of our president.

I did not want to revisit this topic, but having received your message, I decided to approach Mr. Olivier Orban specifically. First of all, Mr. Orban furnished me with a photocopy of the "disputed" page 23 (pages 47 and 48 in the book he printed), as well as the Russian text reproduced in the book *The Putsch* on page 127 with the caption "To Comrade A.S. Chernyayev." I believe that you, Mr. Chernyayev, know better than anyone else, whose signature appears under the instructions. Therefore, your assertion that the text about Mitterrand is not present in the authorized manuscript is not in line with the truth. Facts are hard to argue with.

Now I would ask you to be so kind as to familiarize yourself with an interview given me by Mr. Orban. Just in case you decide to assert yet again that they are slipping "cheap speculation" to you instead of facts: This interview is recorded on magnetic tape, and a copy of it is kept at a bank.

[V. Bolshakov] Mr. Orban, tell us how this passage about F. Mitterrand appeared in the French edition of M.S. Gorbachev's book after all?

[O. Orban] It is best to tell you how this happened in chronological order.

In early October of this year, the Orban publishing house acquired from the Anglo-American publishing house Harper Collins, the rights to publish the book by Mr. Gorbachev, the English version of which was called "The August Coup" and which we called simply "The Putsch."

[Bolshakov] Did you acquire the rights to publish the book only in France? If it is no secret, for how much?

[Orban] It is no secret. We paid $100,000 for the rights to publish this book in any country except Germany. This had to do with Gorbachev separately selling the rights to the German edition to the Germans.

[Bolshakov] Did they send you a finished translation, or did you translate it yourselves?

[Orban] As soon as we signed the contract, the British publisher sent to me a xerox copy of Mr. Gorbachev's manuscript. I will note that other publishers who bought the rights to publish this book received similar copies.

I wanted to publish "The Putsch" virtually simultaneously with the English edition (two to three days later). This is why we immediately embarked on making a translation from Russian. Actually, most of the publishers who acquired rights to Gorbachev's manuscript translated the English version. As far as I know, only three publishing houses (ours, as well as one in Italy and yet another one in Finland, and perhaps someone else) translated it from Russian. This is precisely why the phrase about Mitterrand appeared in these three editions—the French, the Italian, and the Finnish.

[Bolshakov] However, this phrase does not appear in the English edition. Apparently, this is why a version came up to the effect that several manuscripts of the book by Gorbachev exist.

[Orban] This is an untrue version. Harper Collins provided xerox copies of the manuscript which the publishing house itself received, to all who bought the rights to Gorbachev's book from them. I did not receive a manuscript which was meant for some other addressee. I received a copy of precisely the manuscript which was sent directly from Gorbachev in Moscow to England, that is to say, where I obtained the rights to publish it. I am not the only owner of this manuscript. Other publishers who translated the book from the Russian have the same copy I do. You are looking at it.

[Bolshakov] That is, you want to say that you, the Italians, and the Finns who translated the book from the original had absolutely identical copies of the Russian text of the manuscript?

[Orban] Yes, precisely. We translated it very fast.

[Bolshakov] Mr. Chernyayev maintains that, after the rights "were assigned to the Anglo-American publishing house Harper and Collins"—I quote—"nobody had the right to 'revise' any more the French or any other edition from Moscow."

[Orban] A special envoy from Gorbachev traveled to London. I do not know this from hearsay. The British publisher confirmed this to me by a letter. He was there between 1 and 10 October. He brought revisions to Gorbachev's manuscript—incidentally, this is no secret. The British publisher accepted these revisions because they were sanctioned by Gorbachev. The publisher could not have done anything else because he must follow all instructions of the author concerning the manuscript. Two days later, certain revisions were passed on to us, too. We made them. However, no revision of the phrase concerning Mitterrand, which in the English text was replaced with the one about Gorbachev's mother failing to get through to him on the phone, was passed on to us. We may only wonder why: Either Gorbachev's envoy forgot to communicate this to us, or the British publisher for some reason did not pass this revision on to me, the Italians, or the Finns.

I am sure that I published the original version whereas the British published a version revised in keeping with the latest wishes of Mr. Gorbachev. However, I stress that the manuscript which we translated also belongs to Mr. Gorbachev in its entirety.

[Bolshakov] Why did you not make the revision in the book which you published after you learned about the difference between the English and French editions?

[Orban] Gorbachev is the author of the book, and as such he has all the pertinent rights. Had he sent instructions to me to change something in his book, I would have done so. The rights of the author should be honored without reservation. Incidentally, the contract which I signed includes a commitment to the effect that in the process of translating the book from Russian, we undertake to not change anything in the manuscript and to translate it word for word, with which we scrupulously complied.

Had Mr. Gorbachev wanted this phrase about Mitterrand to not appear in the French edition, he had every author's right to that. However, as of today, I have not received any instructions with regard to revising the text of the book concerning the phrase about Mitterrand.

[Bolshakov] What do you think about assertions concerning plans by certain political forces and the "malevolent" French press which were allegedly responsible for this "fly in the ointment," i.e., the phrase about Mitterrand, in your edition of the book about Gorbachev?

[Orban] For me, this has nothing to do with politics. I published a precise translation of the manuscript which was sent to me. If I am told tomorrow: "Sir, a mistake has slipped by. We decided to change one phrase..." I will change it. However, I repeat that as of today, I have received no instructions to this effect.

It appears to me that some people are confusing political partiality with facts. When a translator translated the text he was neither right nor left, nor a Socialist, nor a Communist, nor a Liberal. He translated the text which was given to him to be translated. This text has not been changed. This is precisely the text written by Mr. Gorbachev.

If this has acquired a political aspect then it is a problem for Mr. Gorbachev and Mr. Mitterrand, but not for the Orban publishing house. In publishing books, we remain apolitical, being faithful to our duty as a publisher to translate the books the way they are written.

[Bolshakov] However, was there some "missing link" in the chain of your communications with London due to which the text concerning Mitterrand's call was not revised?

[Orban] Had Mr. Gorbachev informed me that he had not written this phrase, or that he simply regretted writing it and wanted to change what was unacceptable to him at that point I would have considered this to be his moral right. I would have immediately changed the text of a new edition in keeping with his wishes.

However, some kind of discrepancy occurred. Mr. Gorbachev indeed demanded that the British publisher change the passage in question, but subsequently did not demand that the same be done in the French edition.

[Bolshakov] However, Mikhail Gorbachev said specifically at a joint press conference with Mitterrand on 31 October that if there is such a phrase about Mitterrand in his book he was not the one to write it. In this case, as Gogol put it, who was the one to speak up?

[Orban] I really do not know. The staff of your president, who worked on Gorbachev's book, should themselves ponder how it happened that I was sent, by the English publisher who purchased worldwide rights to publish his book, a manuscript in which the phrase appeared, in Russian, signed with Gorbachev's name, by hand. Why did they send to London at all a manuscript of which Gorbachev personally was not aware?

By now, nobody doubts anymore that this phrase appeared in the Russian text. If this phrase were not there they could accuse me of being a swindler. This is much too serious an accusation for a publisher.

Of course, you do not think that I would have allowed myself such entertainment: changing some phrases in a text written by a head of state. I am not crazy.... [end interview]

The interview by Olivier Orban elevates the issue of our slovenliness to what we might call an issue of principle. It turns out that, even after our president publicly repudiated the sensational phrase about the call from Mitterrand that did not exist, as of the moment I interviewed Mr. Orban neither the Novosti Publishing House nor your secretariat, Mr. Chernyayev, had instructed Mr. Orban's publishing house to change the text of the French edition. If this is not slovenliness then what is?

There is really no reason for some people to make too much of their "fly" leased from the hostile MM, and to try fouling up a jar of pure ointment. Instead of "presenting" and "covering" at this highly significant and difficult moment in history, they "slander" and publicly suspect all kinds of intentions.

Mister—former Comrade—Chernyayev, is this not a recurrence of the thinking of Old Square which was forever persecuted by multitudes of domestic and foreign "enemies," "defamers," and "instigators?"

Thank God, this time is gone. PRAVDA, which we managed to bring back to life following the bans in August, will never again be the turf of the bureaucratic apparatus which brought about the peril of the CPSU along with the Soviet Union which has fallen apart.

Apparently, it is much more difficult to practice new thinking than to advertise it, is it not? Still, I would like to believe that the pessimistic Frenchmen were not right when they came up with the proverb "Everything will be the way it used to be, even if it is different." Therefore, accept, etc.

Chairman Silayev Visits Brussels for EC Talks

Cited on Purposes of Visit

PM2711110191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Nov 91 Union Edition p 2

[Commentary by I. Zhagel: "Back In Brussels, After Credits Again"]

[Text] Early on the morning of 26 November Interstate Economic Committee Chairman I. Silayev flew to Brussels for talks with members of the European Commission. Talking to journalists before the flight, he named the three main aims of his visit.

First of all, I. Silayev is to sign an agreement giving credit to our country to the tune of 500 million ECU's [European Currency Units], which is approximately $300 million. There will also be talks on further credits, now 1.25 billion ECU's. Finally, the Interstate Economic Committee chairman would like to acquaint himself in greater detail with the structure and mechanisms of the work of the European Community government, and, perhaps, take some tips from it.

According to I. Silayev, the treaty on credits of 500 million ECU's has already been prepared, although the European Commission recently stated some extra conditions, but they apparently can be resolved. This is food credit, and it will be allocated in accordance with the food agreement signed by the 12 republics.

It stipulates what proportion will go to each party to the agreement and what products it will receive—grain, meat, butter, sugar. However, when the time comes to repay the credits the republics will have to pay a proportional amount in hard currency.

I. Silayev expressed the hope that the next credit of 1.25 billion ECU's would not only go on food, but that something would be able to be invested in our energy industry and in the production of consumer goods and medicines. Asked by the IZVESTIYA correspondent: Is it possible to get some progress in that area in Brussels, considering the not very optimistic results of the State Council session the day before on Union treaty matters, I. Silayev said that the results of the Novo-Ogarevo meeting would not affect his mission.

Journalists wanted to know I. Silayev's opinion on the effectiveness of the Interrepublic [as published] Economic Committee's work and the practical results of its

activities. The answer was that the committee was in the process of being formed, and this process would most likely be complete by the beginning of next year. Then it will be possible to talk in greater detail about the committee's effectiveness.

Much will depend here on the conclusion of the eight very important economic agreements which the republics are currently elaborating and which will provide a proper base for the Union of Sovereign States.

Credit Agreement Signed

LD2711095191 Moscow TASS in English 0831 GMT 27 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Valeriy Shashkov]

[Text] Brussels November 27 TASS—Soviet Prime Minister [as received] Ivan Silayev said on Wednesday the Soviet Union should base the work of the Interstate Economic Committee on the experience and principles of the European Community.

Silayev arrived in Brussels on Tuesday to sign an agreement guaranteeing a 500-million ECU [European Currency Unit] credit to buy food for the Soviet Union.

During his talks with Jacques Delors, president of the commission of the European Communities, and other EC officials, Silayev focused on the principles of activities of the European Community.

"We are taking the first steps. That's why we have to take a closer look at this structure to take the best of it and not to repeat its mistakes," Silayev told TASS.

Silayev stressed the European Community, like the Soviet Union, consists of sovereign states, offering good opportunities for mutually beneficial cooperation.

Speaking about the agreement on credit guarantees, Silayev said the first shipments of food are expected to arrive in the Soviet Union at the end of December.

The prime minister said he also discussed prospects for receiving 1,250 million ECU in credit to buy more food to help Soviet people live through the winter.

Understanding With EC Stressed

LD2611212891 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Video report from Brussels by correspondent K. Mazheyka, including recorded remarks by Interstate Economic Committee Chairman Ivan Silayev—from the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] The Brussels headquarters of the Common Market. A visit here began the working day for Ivan Silayev in this West European capital. An hour-long conversation with Jacques Delors and the signing of documents followed this handshake.

There are two main documents, a governmental and an inter-bank agreement. Let me explain. The items making up the EC's food aid have long been agreed. Grain, vegetables, meat and dairy products will be supplied this winter not only by countries in the community but also by our former CEMA partners. The operation is financed by western banks with EC credit guarantees in the sum of 500 million European Currency Units. Without these guarantees, the timescale for clearing the debts would be shorter and interest higher. Time is money. The urgent need for both is obvious and that is understood here.

[Silayev] I would say that there are three matters of extreme interest to us and our aim is, once we have agreed on financial support, indeed that is the first thing; and second to become familiar with the mechanisms by which the EC functions. We would like in this section, the commission, albeit only for a short time, literally a few hours, to get to know this structure in more detail and borrow more to add to what we have already taken on board. Finally, we would like to understand and get a feeling for the position of the European Community and to set out in detail our situation in light of our immediate and long-term future so that our actions and steps toward a market economy might be better understood.

Political & Social

Circumstances Hampering Treaty Signing Viewed

Designation Disputed

LD2611123491 Moscow TASS in English 2213 GMT 26 Nov 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Sergey Petukhov and Sergey Postanogov]

[Text] Moscow November 26 TASS—"The main dispute at Monday's [25 November] meeting of the State Council erupted on the issue of the name to the entity that will replace the USSR—a confederative state or a confederation," said Georgy Shakhnazarov, political adviser under the Soviet president.

Speaking at a briefing in the Soviet Foreign Ministry press centre today, the presidential adviser on political issues noted this issue was of a fundamental nature. The point is whether the future entity is cohesive and single to give its residents the confidence that they live in a state rather than some association of an international type.

The recent public opinion surveys found that the increasing number of people favour maintaining the Union in the form of a confederative state, in which the sovereignties of the republics are fully ensured.

After discussions at the State Council's meeting, it was decided to leave in the text of the draft treaty the term—the Union of Sovereign States - a Confederative Democratic State.

At the meeting, a lively dialogue developed around the draft's further destiny, Shakhnazarov said. Some members of the State Council proposed that the draft treaty be referred to the Supreme Soviets of the sovereign states for the supreme bodies of authority to have a chance to study this document thoroughly. As a result, an agreement was reached to send the text of the draft treaty to the Supreme Soviets of the republics.

Shakhnazarov believes there is an element of unnecessary dramatisation in covering the State Council's meeting, although its results give grounds to believe that another stage in the preparation of this document has been passed. He said the matter now passed into the hands of the republics' legislators.

Shakhnazarov noted the rest of the issues examined by the Council were of a purely "technological" nature. No principled disputes emerged. It was decided to abolish the post of chairman of the Supreme Soviet. State Council members also decided to preserve the public prosecutor's office, as a body monitoring compliance with Union laws, under the Supreme Court.

He read out the adopted resolution that the State Council asks the Supreme Soviets of the republics to examine the elaborated draft "on the Union of Sovereign States" and prepare it for signing this year. This resolution was initialed by all the participants in the State Council's meeting.

Speaking about possible terms for adopting the treaty, Shakhnazarov said both the president and the State Council members agreed that this should be done quickly because the absence of the political union seriously affected the entire situation in the country, including the possibility of implementing the principles of the economic agreement. He emphasised it was in the interests of all.

Lubenchenko on Difficulties

PM2611212591 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 27 Nov 91 p 1

[Interview with K. Lubenchenko, chairman of USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union, by N. Garifullina on 26 November; place not given; published under general headline "After the Meeting in Novo-Ogarevo"—first paragraph is editorial introduction.

[Text] Readers already know that the hopes pinned the 25 November session of the USSR State Council were not realized: The planned initialing of the treaty on the union of sovereign states did not take place. In a recess between sessions of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union yesterday, our correspondent held a brief interview with K.D. Lubenchenko, chairman of the chamber, who took part in the Novo-Ogarevo meeting.

[Garifullina] Konstantin Dmitriyevich, what did the meager reports on the State Council sitting and the USSR president's news conference leave "out of the picture"?

[Lubenchenko] Out of the picture? How can I say what was "out of the picture?" On the surface you can see that not everything went smoothly there. There were clashes of interest, clashes of positions. But... against a general backdrop of unity, I would say.

[Garifullina] But why, then, was the treaty not initialed?

[Lubenchenko] Well, first, I think, one of the presidents already had a set of amendments to the text of the treaty, which was a definite surprise for some participants and for the State Council chairman. Therefore, those amendments had to be studied. Second, some leaders of the republics said that they cannot present this text to their legislatures because they are afraid that the legislatures will respond to them negatively.

[Garifullina] But how did they explain the Supreme Soviets' position?

[Lubenchenko] They were trying to ensure that the Supreme Soviets examine the text of the treaty nonetheless. In my view, this is precisely the time for people to assume personal responsibility, as Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin did, for example. He assumed full responsibility

even though this decision involves a very high degree of risk. But in any event, he is not afraid of that.

[Garifullina] Was the question of the state's name raised? Was it not suggested that perhaps it is time to return to the results of the referendum and fulfill the will of the people as expressed 17 March, regarding both the name and the kind of union it should be?

[Lubenchenko] Well, the leaders of the republics are now expressing the will of their Supreme Soviets. They have agreed upon this name. Admittedly, I did try to ask there whether it was impossible, for example, to use the name "Union of Free Sovereign Republics"? They said that this stage has already passed and they are not going back to it. I am not a member of the State Council and although I did speak there, it was always with the right of a consultative voice.

[Garifullina] Then I will put a question to you as a USSR people's deputy. You said: The leaders of the republics are expressing the will of the Supreme Soviets. But the people declared their will in the referendum. Can there be anything higher than the expression of the people's will?

[Lubenchenko] The will of the people of the republics which are now taking part in elaborating this treaty is what was expressed here. These republics are **taking part**, they cannot reject this **participation**. A definite referendum idea is being implemented. The details of that referendum are another matter...

[Garifullina] Konstantin Dmitriyevich, what set of amendments was submitted by the particular president taking part in the State Council sitting? Could you not reveal his identity? Do his proposals give greater depth to the idea of the treaty? And what will it be—a federation, a community, an economic area?

[Lubenchenko] No, you see, these are questions connected with a freer union less like a single state, more like some level of agreement between states.

[Garifullina] Did the idea find support?

[Lubenchenko] No, not very much...

[Garifullina] When do you predict the treaty will eventually be initialed?

[Lubenchenko] Well, I cannot make that prediction with any certainty at all. It depends on what actions Russia is going to take in the economic sphere. That is the main area of discussion.

Arguments Cited

PM2611213991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Nov 91 Union Edition p 1

[Report by G. Alimov: "State Council Still Arguing About What Is To Be Created—a State or a 'Cloud in Trousers'"]

[Text] Instead of the State Council members' anticipated procedure of initialing (final approval) the draft Treaty on the Union of Sovereign States before sending it to the republic Supreme Soviets, something quite different happened at Novo-Ogarevo 25 November.

Despite the importance of the work which the State Council members have done on the text of the treaty, the public still expected that the representatives of the sovereign states would seal every page of the treaty's text with their initials, as envisaged by the initialing procedure, and thereby assume the corresponding commitments and share of responsibility. But instead, the participants in the sitting adopted a USSR State Council resolution that the draft treaty be sent to the Supreme Soviets of the sovereign states and to the USSR Supreme Soviet. The representatives of the seven republics participating in this sitting and the USSR president are requesting that it be examined with a view to preparing a document for signing this year.

What is behind all this? Either because of the disagreements that occur periodically in the State Council, the leaders are again unable to find a common denominator, or they are playing for time, maneuvering, and switching the "main burden" onto the Supreme Soviets, where the draft treaty could disappear without trace in even larger-scale discussions...

We have seen for ourselves a number of times that the birth pangs of the treaty have been so painful because of the indecision and perpetual doubts of some of the participants in the discussions. After all, it is a really strange situation when positions are worked out and agreed upon in the most intense debates only then for everything to start all over again. No one presumes to criticize the State Council members if their remarks are intended to improve and clarify the wording. But how can you explain the fact that time and again debates flare up over one theme: whether to create simply a union or a state? After all, it seemed that this question had already been settled back on 14 November—namely, to create a confederative democratic state.

At a news conference, President Mikhail Gorbachev (he was the only participant) frankly acknowledged that the old disputes—a union or a state—had really occurred. In his words, one of the participants in the discussion answered his opponents like this: Do we actually want to create a state or a "cloud in trousers" [reference to a passage in a poem by Mayakovskiy, intended to convey the idea of nebulosity]? Gorbachev himself publicly stated: "Enough maneuvering on these questions. It is necessary to state one's position clearly and let the people know about this."

But it is not all so simple. There have been many statements. Now it remains to wait and see how the legislatures of the sovereign states perceive this treaty.

Presidential Adviser Interviewed

LD2611233991 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Interview with Georgiy Shakhnazarov, USSR president's state adviser for political issues by I. Minayev at journalists' briefing on the 25 November Novo-Ogarevo meeting in Moscow on 26 November; from the "TV Inform" newscast—recorded]

[Text] [Minayev] Unlike the draft treaty viewed by all the participants in the sitting, a State Council decision recommended all the republican and Union Supreme Soviets prepare the draft for signing this year, although one cannot rule out protracted legislative debate: the temptation to improve the draft treaty over and over again may become too great. As regards yesterday's State Council sitting, according to participants in the news conference, a name for the formation which is going to replace the USSR provoked especially long agruments. Finally, the term of Confederative Democratic State and the abbreviation USS [Union of Sovereign States—Soyuz Suverennykh Gosudarstv] was chosen. Georgiy Shakhnazarov did not hide from journalists that he personally hopes that a more elegant name will be found.

[Minayev] In your view, why was the treaty not initialed in Novo-Ogarevo, after all? Does it show differences between State Council members or a reluctance to agree?

[Shakhnazarov] You know, I think that a purely technical error was made earlier. The treaty should have been published and forwarded to Supreme Soviets earlier.

[Minayev] Which of the republican leaders came to initial the document?

[Shakhnazarov] Well, you know, Boris Nikolayevich was prepared to initial, along with the Kazakhstan representative and President Akayev.

[Minayev] Is late December more or less realistic for signing the treaty?

[Shakhnazarov] I think that yes, but now everything depends on the Supreme Soviets. Whether it is signed a week later or earlier is not very important.

'Completely New Draft'

LD2611222791 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Video report by A. Gerasimov; from the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Excerpt] The Union treaty has been discussed behind closed doors in Novo-Ogarevo twice already, but the text of this political agreement was published only today. Republican legislatures have time to discuss it while the people finally have an opportunity to familiarize themselves with the text of a document which, maybe, will regulate their life. So, what is new in the treaty which was not signed in August?

Only general declarations have been retained; otherwise, it is, in essence, a completely new draft. We will not have a fifth constitution. It is to be replaced by the text of the Treaty and the Declaration of Human Rights and Freedoms. The union of sovereign states—a subject of international law without a constitution of its own—envisages a confederative community of former republics, something which means by definition, the absence of the center's direct control over treaty member states. In the organizational aspect, the country will become similar to Switzerland, having lost its likeness to the U.S., though, in the process. According to the new treaty, states—confederational subjects—will have the right to sort out problems with their autonomous formations themselves; therefore, the burden of interethnic relations is being placed upon leaders of republics. Unlike the pre-putsch version, the new treaty has discarded outright such concepts as Union taxes and levies, Union property, a constitutional court, and a Supreme Soviet chairman. Instead, republican armed formations have appeared. The Union budget and the post of vice president, which was scrapped in August, have not yet been defined.

It is obvious that participants in the Novo-Ogarevo meetings are more concerned with the idea itself of forming a union than with detailing the treaty's provisions. Any state with any political system may put its signature to this document the way it looks now. Even if the treaty is signed after all, the high contracting parties have yet to make a long path of harmonizing more than 10 individual agreements which regulate practically all spheres of life, from the formation of unified Armed Forces to cooperation in the sphere of education and culture.

Since there will be a new state, it appears that there will be also new coat of arms, flag, and anthem. The capital will remain where it is, in Moscow, for the time being.

[video shows the following screen charts]

USSR	USS
federation	confederation
constitution	Union treaty declaration of rights and freedoms
autonomies	not mentioned
federation subjects:	
borders can be altered upon agreement between republics	alteration of borders not stipulated
union taxes and levies	union budget not defined for the time being
single army	single army, armed formations in republics
the Union's property	there is no Union property

[passage omitted]

Highlights According to TASS

LD2611145991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1325 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow, 26 November (TASS)—The draft treaty of the union of sovereign states was distributed here today for publication in the press. The document defines the fundamental principles for formation of the Union, its structure, and the structure of its supreme bodies of power.

The draft treaty proceeds from the tenet that each signatory to the treaty is a sovereign state. The Union of Sovereign States, according to the document, "is a confederate democratic state, exercising its powers within the limits of the authority voluntarily entrusted to it by the signatories to the treaty."

The states forming the Union retain the right to independently decide on all issues pertaining to their own development. They proclaim that human rights is their most important principle.

The document says that "as the successor to the USSR," the Union of Sovereign States enters into international relations "in the capacity of a sovereign state and as a legal entity in international law." The Union of Sovereign States proclaims its primary goals as secure peace, disarmament, the destruction of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, cooperation among states, and the solidarity of peoples in resolving the global problems of mankind.

The section of the treaty devoted to the structure of the Union enshrines the principle of equality of rights for all Union citizens. A citizen of a state entering into the Union is also a citizen of the Union of Sovereign States. The Union guarantees the inviolability of the borders of its constituent states.

It is set forth in the draft treaty that the Union "will have unified Armed Forces with a centralized command." However, the signatories to the treaty retain the right to establish republican armed formations.

The section of the treaty defining the bodies of power of the Union envisages the formation of a bicameral Supreme Soviet and election of the president and vice president. A State Council, government, Supreme Court, and Supreme Court of Arbitration are to be formed in the Union.

By decision of the USSR State Council at its meeting on Monday, the draft Treaty of the Union of Sovereign States has been forwarded to the republican parliaments for debate. Beneath this decision are the signatures of the leaders of Russia, Belorussia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenia, and Uzbekistan, in addition to that of the USSR president.

Amendments to Draft

PM2711102491 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Nov 91 Union Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Amendments Made to the Treaty on the Union of Sovereign States at the State Council 25 November"]

[Text] In yesterday's issue our newspaper published the draft Treaty on the Union of Sovereign States agreed upon by members of the State Council on 14 November. We reported that amendments and clarifications could be made to this document, which was submitted to the State Council members for ratification 25 November. And so it transpired. In most cases the amendments are editorial in nature, but there are also a number of substantive amendments.

Article 1, on membership of the Union, in Chapter II of the Treaty, reads as follows:

"States' membership of the Union is voluntary.

"The parties to the present Treaty are the states directly forming the Union.

"The Union is open for entry by other democratic states that recognize the Treaty. Admission of new states to the Union takes place with the consent of all the parties to the present Treaty.

"The states forming the Union retain the right to free secession from it under the procedure laid down by the parties to the Treaty."

In Article 4, on relations among the states forming the Union, the following point is added at the end of the article: "The obligations enumerated in the present article extend to Union (interstate) organs."

In Article 6, on spheres of joint jurisdiction of the states party to the Treaty and multilateral agreements, in the paragraph on foreign policy, only one addition is made, but it is of fundamental importance, and it reads as follows: "on the **formulation** and coordination of foreign policy."

Article 10, on the laws of the Union, has been fairly substantially reworked. It now reads as follows:

"The constitutional basis of the Union of Sovereign States is the present Treaty and the Declaration of Human Rights and Freedoms.

"Union laws are adopted on questions relating to the jurisdiction of the Union and within the limits of the powers transferred to it by the present Treaty. They are binding for execution on the territory of all the states party to the Treaty.

"A state party to the Treaty, in the person of its highest organs of power, is entitled to protest and suspend the operation on its territory of a Union law, if it violates the present Treaty.

"The Union, in the person of its highest organs of power, is entitled to protest and suspend the operation of a law of a state party to the Treaty, if it violates the present Treaty.

"Disputes are resolved through conciliation procedures, or submitted to the Union Supreme Court, which takes the final decision within one month."

Chapter III. Article 11, on the formation of Union organs. This is given in the new version:

"The organs of the Union of Sovereign States stipulated in the present Treaty are formed on the basis of the free expression of the peoples' will and of the full representation of the states forming the Union.

"The organization, powers, and procedure for the activity of organs of power, management, and justice are laid down by appropriate laws not running counter to the present Treaty."

Article 12, on the Supreme Soviet. Instead of the former version: "With a view to ensuring equal rights in voting in the Soviet of the Republics each state forming the Union has one vote," there is this amendment: "With a view to ensuring the sovereignty of the states party to the Treaty and their equal rights, in voting in the Soviet of the Republics the rule of consensus applies." Here too, the paragraph "The Union Supreme Soviet elects the chairman of the Supreme Soviet" is deleted.

Article 14, on the vice president of the Union, reads as follows in the amended version: "The vice president of the Union is elected together with the president of the Union. The vice president of the Union, on authorization by the president of the Union, performs some of the latter's functions."

Article 15, on the Union State Council, is formulated entirely differently.

"The Union State Council is set up to coordinate the resolution of the most important questions of domestic and foreign policy affecting the common interests of the states party to the Treaty.

"The State Council consists of the president of the Union and the highest officials of the states party to the Treaty. The work of the State Council is headed by the president of the Union.

"The decisions of the State Council are binding on all organs of executive power."

Article 17, on the Union Supreme Court, has been substantially reworked. It now reads as follows:

"The Union Supreme Court makes decisions on questions of the compliance of Union laws and laws of the states party to the Treaty with the present Treaty and with the Declaration of Human Rights and Freedoms; hears civil and criminal cases of an interstate nature, including cases concerning the protection of citizens' rights and freedoms; and is the court of last resort in relation to military courts. A prosecutor's office exercising oversight of the implementation of Union legislative acts is set up, attached to the Union Supreme Court.

"The procedure for forming the Union Supreme Court is defined by law."

Article 18, on the Union Supreme Court of Arbitration, has also been reworked.

"The Union Supreme Court of Arbitration resolves economic disputes among the states party to the Treaty and also disputes between enterprises that are under the jurisdiction of different states party to the Treaty.

"The procedure for forming the Supreme Court of Arbitration is defined by law."

Article 19, on the Union Prosecutor's Office, is deleted entirely, in the light of the amendment to Article 17.

In the light of changes to the order of the articles and the introduction of substantive amendments, the concluding provisions of the Treaty should read:

"Article 19. The Language of Interethnic Communication in the Union

"The parties to the Treaty autonomously decide their own state language (languages). The states party to the Treaty recognize Russian as the language of interethnic communication in the Union.

"Article 20. The Capital of the Union.

"The capital of the Union is the city of Moscow.

"Article 21. State Symbols of the Union.

"The Union has a state crest, flag, and anthem.

"Article 22. Procedure for Making Amendments and Additions to the Treaty.

"The present Treaty or individual provisions of it can be repealed, amended, or added to only with the consent of all the states forming the Union.

"Article 23. Entry Into Force of the Treaty.

"The present Treaty is approved by the supreme organs of state power of the states forming the Union and enters into force once it is signed by their plenipotentiary delegations.

"As of that date the 1922 Treaty on the Formation of the USSR is deemed to have ceased to be valid for states that have signed the present Treaty.

"Article 24. Responsibility Under the Treaty.

"The Union and its constituent states bear mutual responsibility for the fulfillment of obligations and reimburse damage caused by violations of the present Treaty.

"Article 26. The Union's Status as Successor in Law.

"The Union of Sovereign States is the successor in law to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Its legal succession is implemented taking into account the provisions of Articles 6 and 23 of the present Treaty."

Nagorno-Karabakh Prompts Council Discussion

Peaceful Solution Sought

LD2711043291 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0400 GMT 27 Nov 91

[Text] A session of the State Council is planned for today to discuss the extremely dangerous situation that has taken shape in Nagorno-Karabakh. Presidents Mutalibov of Azerbaijan and Ter-Petrosyan of Armenia will attend the session.

Speaking at a session of the Supreme Soviet of Azerbaijan, Mutalibov stressed that the search for ways to settle the Karabakh conflict by peaceful means should be continued.

The Armenian legislature has published a special statement in which it appeals to the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet to restrain itself from taking steps that inevitably will lead to confrontation.

Ter-Petrosyan, Mutalibov Attend

OW2711125491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1140 GMT 27 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan and his Azeri counterpart Ayaz Mutalibov have joined the session of the USSR State Council which opened this noon. According to IF's [INTERFAX] correspondent, this information was confirmed at the missions of the two republics in Moscow.

The State Council will consider, among other things, issues connected with the escalation of the conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan.

According to unconfirmed data, a face-to-face meeting between L. Ter-Petrosian and A. Mutalibov is not ruled out.

Foreign Ministry Spokesman Addresses Reforms

Unaffected by Treaty Delays

OW2611162191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1423 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Report by diplomatic correspondents Mikhail Mayorov and Igor Porshnev from the "Diplomatic Panorama"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Foreign Ministry's spokesman Vitaliy Churkin does not think that yesterday's (November 25) refusal by the leaders of the sovereign republics to initial the text of a political treaty will influence the plans for reforming the Foreign Ministry. Judging from what Churkin told a "DP" [Diplomatic Panorama] correspondent, Shevardnadze will not postpone his upcoming trip to the capitals of the former Union republics. Work to strengthen the efforts of the centre and the sovereign states in foreign political and economic activities will continue parallel with work on the draft of the Treaty on the Union of Sovereign States.

However, Gorbachev has acknowledged since it was decided that the text would be shown to the republican parliaments, that "everything must begin again from zero." This puts a huge question mark next to the fate of not only the political treaty, but also next to those Union structures immediately affected by the treaty. It is generally thought that naming Shevardnadze foreign minister would accomplish two things first, that new life would be given to the all-Union diplomatic service, and second, that he would contribute to political unity among the former Soviet republics. Naming Shevardnadze, a figure of authority, to a position at the centre has had the opposite effect. The unexpected refusal yesterday to initial the treaty is evidence of this. There may be even further reasons for "rebellion" in the republics which lie deeper down.

It is generally thought that the recently named head of the Union Foreign Ministry [Ministry of External Relations] is in a difficult situation. He acted logically when he declined all contact with the former Union until now, due to a lack of "trust" (his own expression). Presently, there is a question as to what power he commands as the representative for the interests of as many possible components of the former Soviet Union in an international arena. If the text of the treaty had been initialled yesterday [25 November] at Novo-Ogarevo, then Shevardnadze's trip to the republican capitals would be the natural continuation of a more or less successfully developing process. Now, consultations in the republics on the legal power of the Ministry of Foreign Relations will take place long before the decision on remaining in a political union has been made. In addition to this, although the text of the treaty will be exposed shortly to sharp attacks by nationalist elements in the Supreme Soviets in the republics, and this threatens the entire outcome of Shevardnadze's trip.

Now, some are even asking if there will be any political union of sovereign states, and if so, will it be so broad that it hardly functions as a union? If this question is asked at the Foreign Ministry, it is impossible to ignore the fact that the present reform there may not be the last. But no one knows what will be left of the ministry after the next reform.

Elaborates on Functions

LD2711013691 Moscow Radiostantsiya Ekho Moskvy in Russian 1735 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Interview with Vitaliy Ivanovich Churkin, spokesman at the USSR Ministry of External Relations, by correspondent Tatyana Pelepeyko; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Pelepeyko] Good evening, and good evening to Vitaliy Ivanovich.

[Churkin] Good evening.

[Pelepeyko] We will be talking, as is quite understandable, about peace and the MID [Ministry of Foreign Affairs]. To be more precise the abbreviation MID no longer exists—now it is MVS, the Ministry of External Relations. [passage omitted] What kind of an animal is this now? [passage omitted]

[Churkin] This is the name that you should give to the ministry which will occupy itself with foreign policy and foreign economic policy inasmuch as being transferred to us are the main strategic functions of the former Ministry of Foreign Relations, so there will be more work to do.

[Pelepeyko] There will be more work too. But will it be easy to fulfill this additional function?

[Churkin] It will not be easy. For some time, for some years now, the directorate of international economic problems has been in existence in the ministry. This directorate will probably be expanded by enlisting specialists from the former Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations. Some new structure will be set up. New structures will be created in the embassies, groups which will occupy themselves in some countries or other with the coordination of foreign economic activity. Indeed a great deal of serious new work lies ahead.

[Pelepeyko] But Vitaliy Ivanovich, I'll add that when we talk of foreign economic relations now, the first association that comes to the mind of most of our listeners is: From whom else will we seek aid? Apart from this, what are we prepared to do now, what do we intend to do now, how do we develop our foreign relations? We are being told that we should be trading only for convertible currency. Is this possible under the current conditions?

[Churkin] But I think that experience, bitter experience, has demonstrated that this is impossible, that the unsuccessful attempts to abruptly transfer our trade with many countries with which we traded previously on other foundations, in particular with the countries of Eastern Europe, to convertible currency, has ended in complete failure, with the complete collapse of trade with these countries. Therefore it must probably be a matter of the use at the given transition stage of flexible forms of economic cooperation and trade with foreign countries.

But I have to say in connection with your question that the main task of our ministry—foreign economic activity—will of course consist not only in asking additional aid from someone else, but in helping independent subjects of international economic relations in connection with the changeover to the market system of management, not only inside our country but also abroad, to do business, that is to say, to enter into contact with foreign partners. As far as possible we will help also here to draw up some strategic line, recommendations regarding our country's direction in the international economic sphere.

[Pelepeyko] Ministry of what?

[Churkin] As yet our Union of Soviet Socialist Republics continues to exist; at any rate, that is how many people abroad relate to it and moreover very many people want our Union to be preserved in some form or other. So it seems to me that we, and perhaps especially the mass news media, should not preoccupy themselves with its destruction but wait for the adoption of new documents which may give our state a new name and in the meantime use the old name. Well perhaps it's not a question of a name. [passage omitted]

The majority of responsible politicians and leaders of our 12 republics advocate the creation of a new Union. Some very hard work is going on as we see, the Novo-Ogarevo process is going on, and I am convinced that this is in the interests of our people, so I at least would like to hope that it is crowned with the creation of a new federative union of states.

[Pelepeyko] [question indistinct]

[Churkin] I think that we need to have our national dignity and at least not regard ourselves with less respect than we are regarded abroad and for a whole number of reasons we are nevertheless seen as a great power, a huge people, because long ago we saw for ourselves from the example of our own government that monopolism is a bad thing. Very many people do not want monopolism in the international arena and consider the preservation of the Soviet Union very important as a definite kind of counterweight. [passage omitted]

[Matvey Konopolskiy, anchorman] Tell me, I know there are rumors about this, but has some kind of hypothetical situation been examined of using Shevardnadze's authority—at his personal wish, of course, and this would really be good for everyone—in settling internal problems?

[Churkin] I think Shevardnadze would be willing. Overall I think he sees his functions not only as external but also internal. Not for nothing is it that the first thing that he wants to do is to tour practically all our sovereign republics and discuss how we should continue building external policy. I am sure he will also be willing to join in the attempts to settle the ethnic conflicts of Nagorno-Karabakh, the conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan. I would remind you that Shevardnadze is not only minister but also cochairman of the Democratic Reform Movement. [passage omitted]

[Pelepeyko] Vitaliy Ivanovich, since August the MID has continually paid allegiance to the Shevardnadze line. [passage indistinct] Now the situation has changed and Eduard Amvrosiyevich has returned to his post, perhaps now with even wider opportunities in foreign policy

matters. Where would he want to work most actively in the ministry, where would he perhaps change something?

[Churkin] I would regard the phrases: Shevardnadze-Gorbachev line or Shevardnadze diplomacy or Gorbachev-Shevardnadze foreign policy in a very broad way. It is a question of our openness to the world, our transition from confrontation to dialogue, of our desire to see in other states partners and not adversaries, not of dedication to specific steps or specific political lines enshrined in specific situations—1985, 1986, 1987.

Shevardnadze is interesting because he is a very deep-thinking, thoughtful diplomat and politician, so I think he is capable, relying—and this is an important trait of his as a head of ministry—on expert knowledge, on people who have a profound understanding of specific situations, of finding new solutions in a completely new situation. In a global sense, if you like, for us and for our ministry the new situation at the level of making foreign policy lies in the fact that it will now be made with considerable more account taken of the opinions and interests of the republics. [Passage omitted]

Well, Shevardnadze said recently that the MID was just the start; we have to master a new science of creating a structure in which the republics are deeply integrated, in which it is not necessary to wait a month for, say, reading the matter to once more reconvene another session of the Council of Ministers of Foreign Affairs for any question to be solved. [Passage omitted]

[Pelepeyko] Now the appointment of counselor-envoys to the first republican embassies is starting. The Russian representative in Washington, Andrey Kolosovskiy, has been appointed and I think he has even left. What will this be? A ministry in each individual republic? What will these people be occupied with, just the affairs of their own republics? [Passage indistinct]

[Churkin] It seems that the example that you cited, of the representatives of republics in embassies, is already a positive, fairly well-coordinated aspect of work. Kolosovskiy is already a convincing example; there are some 30 representatives at various levels. Counsellor-envoy is the highest level—there are also counsellors, maybe diplomats at a lower level too—depending on some specific situation, who will not only—this is already happening now—fulfill various functions of diplomats of the Soviet Union, but also specifically represent the interests and fulfill some tasks connected with practical foreign policy, foreign economic, cultural activity of their republics abroad. It seems to me that the system is already functioning and we will expand it more and more.

In Washington, in the example that you mentioned, perhaps more quickly than in other instances, an entire group will be set up under the leadership of a counsellor-envoy which will work directly on the interests of and as tasked by Russia. In other instances these can be individual diplomats who will combine in themselves the activity both of Soviet diplomats and of representatives of various republics. In such instances there are 30 there and its looks as if this system has been adjusted and is working fairly well.

[Pelepeyko] Does this mean that you are not afraid of a conflict of powers between republican ministries and the Union MID?.

[Churkin] I think that there is no reason for this work remaining to be done and it is still necessary to get accustomed to each other. Well, such tasks were set before us by life. That is why they need to be tackled.

[Konopolskiy] A few questions, Vitaliy Ivanovich, tell us please: Of course, each sovereign republic now believes, and probably rightfully, that it is an independent, sovereign state. The ministry is planning some definite foreign policy of its own. Well, you know, there is no money for embassies in each country, nor is there a need to accredit oneself and build such private residences. To all appearances they will talk to you of some mediation, this is what I think. Please do us a favor, how will this be done? Does this mean that in the embassy in the United States, in the embassy of our USS [Union of Sovereign States] as it will be called, in the United States there will be little rooms where one person will sit in each of them? Well, of course I am exaggerating. On the whole, how do you imagine this?

[Churkin] We just talked about the representatives of republics attached to the embassies. As a whole, the work of the embassies will be reoriented toward the interests of specific republics. As our state will soon be a confederative democratic state and the republics will tackle many questions themselves, it is evidently in these spheres then—in the economy, in culture, in various political forms of activity—they will go out to foreign countries and will need the mediation of the USSR embassy. They will turn to this embassy and the embassy, our Union embassy, will help them. I, for instance, do not see any problem with the fact that, say, during visits by the presidents of the republics to a foreign state, the embassy of our Union state were to prepare and provide support for this visit and do everything necessary for it to proceed successfully. This will become one of the major functions of our embassies. While previously the embassies were to a greater extent oriented toward the center, now, to a considerable extent—I am not prepared to say in what percentage, time will tell this—they will be oriented toward the interests and the demands of the republics. [passage omitted]

Silayev To Meet EC Leadership, Sign Documents

LD2611193591 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 17630 GMT 26 Nov 91

[From the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] Ivan Stepanovich Silayev, chairman of the Interstate Economic Committee, started his short visit to Brussels today.

[Correspondent A.Sturua] Before leaving Moscow, Ivan Silayev said at an improvized press conference that he will hold talks in Brussels with Belgian Prime Minister Wilfried Martens and will meet with representatives of the country's business circles, bankers, and entrepreneurs.

Talks With Jacques Delors, president of the EC Commission, the signing of a package of documents guaranteeing a credit of 500 million European Currency Units [ECU]—the provisional currency of EEC countries—and talks on obtaining a sum exceeding 1 billion ECU have been planned.

[Begin Silayev recording] We have a food agreement signed by 12 republics for 1992 where each republic's share for grain, meat, butter, and sugar has been specified depending on what the republic needs in terms of our internal balance, in proportion to what was agreed. Each republic will be settling accounts with us in proportion to the kind of food consumed. [end recording]

[Sturua] Ivan Silayev said that he will brief the EEC leadership on the direction of reforms in the country's currency and finance system. The goal of his visit is not only to obtain additional credits but also to develop a pattern of bilateral cooperation, specifically in the sphere of power engineering, production of medicines, consumer goods, and the organization of farms. [video shows Silayev being interviewed; Silayev and wife boarding the aircraft]

Economic Treaty Agreements To Be Discussed

LD2711023491 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 2000 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Text] A member of the Political Consultative Council under the Soviet president, Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, has prepared a package of agreements to the Economic Treaty. These agreements have to do with army upkeep, pension, and a customs' union, for instance. The package and a draft treaty for union of sovereign states will be discussed at a parliamentary session next week. Yavlinskiy says the package of agreements to accompany the Economic Treaty does not hinder the independence movement of the republics. On the contrary, it builds more acceptable and safe forms.

Republics' Views on Single Currency Cited

PM2711091291 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 22 Nov 91 p 2

[Socioeconomic Problems Department feature prepared by Ye. Dotsuk, O. Musafirova, F. Niyazov, G. Sapozhnikova, S. Chernykh, S. Bobrovskiy; carried under "Sensation!" rubric: "Money Time. Republics Apparently Not Against Discussing Prospects for Currency Union"]

[Text] It is paradoxical that peoples one and all have broken into a panic run from the ruble, while at the same time politicians seem to be seriously intending to preserve this single ruble.

The subject of a single ruble zone was actively discussed prior to the signing of the Economic Community Treaty. And it is still on the agenda now. However, statements about the need to preserve a common ruble at all costs are being made against a background of mutual suspicions and threats to introduce a separate currency.

For some reason it has become accepted to think that one ruble zone for everybody is the best we can hope for. But how will the rigid centralized financial system projected by the economic community's authors differ in principle from the one we have now? It will differ in that the prescribed emission quotas will be observed. But how could they not be?

If it is true that finances are an organism's circulatory system, then a union of sovereign states with a common currency is a union of Siamese twins, that is, from the medical viewpoint, a monster.

Regarding the rigidity of a banking union. There is an extremely widespread delusion about the durability of monolithic structures. Had the Ostankino television tower been concrete throughout, it would never have survived the Moscow earthquake the year before last. Most likely it would have collapsed even earlier under its own weight. It is the flexibility factor that guarantees it long life.

The same "flexibility factor" must be laid at the foundation of the financial structure of the future union of sovereign states. Academician N. Petrakov thinks so. In his opinion (about which KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA has already written), it is inevitable that republics will issue their own money. It is important that this occurs in a coordinated fashion and preferably simultaneously, since where there are unilateral actions the "back-markers" clearly lose out, while the victory of the "front-runners" is temporary and not very substantial.

If we want to preserve a single Union market, then why not take the single European market as a model. The existence of pounds, francs, marks, kroner, and so on does not hinder economic ties or integration and at the same time guarantees that each state has an autonomous and responsible economic policy. Its essence lies in the reciprocal convertibility of pounds, francs, marks, etc.

The main objection to this approach is that money is begrudged for... new money (the printing of bank notes is an expensive business). But who calculated the cost of maintaining interrepublic customs and of mutual distrust and wrecked economic ties, which are inevitable given continued attempts to preserve a single ruble?!

In order that the hryvnas [Ukrainian currency units], chervontsy [Russian currency units], and kroons [Estonian currency units], once they have come into being, can be freely exchanged for each other, it is necessary right now to sit around the negotiating table and discuss options for a single currency system, banking union, and a single customs policy regarding third countries, and a multitude of organizational problems. Many months will be needed but the time will not be wasted.

Are the Sovereign Republics Ready To Discuss the Prospects for a Currency Union? Can They See These Prospects?

Our correspondents acted as intermediaries at the first, long-distance, stage of the talks:

Georgia

Tariyel Gelantiya, chairman of the republic Supreme Soviet Finance and Budget Commission:

"The coordinated introduction of currencies? This must be done. However, at the Union level we are not finding mutual understanding. We do not even know who to talk to about this."

Kyrgyzstan

Suyunduk Kazakov, deputy chairman of the State Committee for Economics:

"I react to this idea with approval. For Kyrgyzstan it is not as good as a single currency in a single economic space, but much better than the huge reams of paper that have lately surged toward us from the republics intending to introduce their own currency.

"If the talks include discussion of the coordinated introduction of currencies on the scale of the former Union, we will bear in mind that it is virtually impossible to introduce them simultaneously. Our position could hinge on two things. The shortest possible period between the introduction of a currency in the first and last republics. And also guarantees of compensation to the republics which introduce currency later than the others and which are forced to repel an influx of rubles."

Estonia

Rein Miller, minister of finance:

"Nothing will come of this. Because the introduction of currency is a secret question, how can it be coordinated with others? We believe that every sovereign republic can introduce its own currency at any time in any conditions considered economically acceptable."

The Ukraine

Vitold Fokin, prime minister:

"This is how I interpret the article in the Economic Community Treaty that talks about a monetary system: It means a common and not a single currency. A single currency excludes national currencies, a common currency presupposes them. The ruble cannot be saved, we are at least a year too late. The solution to stabilizing republics' internal markets is for them to have their own money. If we receive proposals from our sovereign neighbors to coordinate our actions in a given area, I will welcome them and will take part in talks with pleasure. And I will not come empty-handed.

"The Ukraine has already taken the first steps in the direction of its own currency. Although hryvnas are not yet being printed (as TASS has reported, citing CANADIAN PRESS). So far only a protocol on intentions has been signed with the 'Canadian Bank Note Company' firm. However, I will refrain from further predictions."

Kazakhstan

Nursultan Nazarbayev, president:

"In my opinion, no good will come of the introduction of a national currency. It will confuse an already complex monetary situation.

"Now, of course, many republics have announced the introduction of their own currencies. But so far they are just announcements. Although, if we are forced to, Kazakhstan too will have to decide the problem of its own currency. But that would not be our choice.

"I will say that so far it has been generally decided not to introduce our own money (apart from the Baltics, of course). And there is a preliminary agreement that if it becomes necessary to introduce currency, everybody will do this simultaneously."

Russia

Aleksandr Shokhin, deputy chairman of the government:

"The main thing now is not to permit the uncoordinated introduction of currencies. This would hit us very hard.

"I think that Russia would be obliged to enter into talks. Evidently the initiator should be the side which has come closer than anybody to having its own monetary unit. The Ukraine, for example."

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA

We believe that the center could also be the initiator of the talks, before it becomes totally unemployed. Despite the difference in approaches most republics, as we can see, affirm the need for coordination of their currency policies. It emerges that there is even a fundamental understanding on the simultaneous introduction of sovereign money. But that is not enough. It seems to us that if discussion of rules for creating and developing a single currency system in the union of sovereign states is not started right now, there might not be enough time later.

"Time is money." Today this has a particularly topical ring to it.

Grachev Assesses Recent Gorbachev Trip

LD2611182491 Moscow TASS in English 1740 GMT 26 Nov 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Andrey Pershin and Sergey Petukhov]

[Text] Moscow November 26 TASS—"The Soviet president is satisfied with the results of his recent tour of the country. They confirmed favourable changes in the political atmosphere in the two regions visited by him even when the situation is being aggravated," presidential press secretary Andrey Grachev said at a briefing in Moscow today, evaluating the results of Mikhail Gorbachev's visit of Irkutsk and Kyrgyzstan.

He singled out the circumstance that Gorbachev received first-hand information about the situation in the country at the crucial point in its destiny—in the run-up to the signing of a treaty on the political union of sovereign states, as economic transformations were being steeply speeded up and the country was "entering the dense layers of the market atmosphere."

Grachev informed journalists that Gorbachev today met the delegation from Spain's Cortes Generales and Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati, who conveyed to him a message from his country's leaders.

Noting the constructive nature of the atmosphere of talks with the Iranian guest, Grachev said the talks also concerned Velayati's forthcoming tour of several republics. Velayati emphasised contacts at the level of republics "fit into the general context of relations with the USSR."

Grachev said the text of the draft treaty on the Union of Sovereign States, which was published in the IZVESTIYA newspaper on Monday [25 November], is not final. Several amendments will be made to it.

Events Surrounding Pankin Dismissal, Reassignment

PM2611164491 Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 24 Nov 91 p A12

[Report on undated Moscow interview with former USSR Foreign Minister Boris Pankin by Disa Hastad]

[Text] Moscow—Soviet Foreign Minister Boris Pankin had no idea that he was to be replaced by Eduard Shevardnadze when Gorbachev told him on 19 November.

"I had actually been thinking about raising the matter with the president myself," Boris Pankin said in a conversation with DAGENS NYHETER. "Since the ministry was being revamped it was logical to look again at the question of who should be foreign minister. But the president beat me to it."

Instead, Gorbachev offered Pankin a post as personal adviser on foreign policy, like Aleksandr Yakovlev.

"He wanted me to work close to him. But I said that I would prefer to be my own man, because I always have been. Then he offered me Britain. And I was pleased that it was approved so quickly and in such an informal way.

"Gorbachev simply rang John Major up, while I was present. He said that Shevardnadze was becoming foreign minister and and that I had been offered London and asked whether I would be approved. Major had no objections; on the contrary, he bade me welcome."

In only a week's time Boris Pankin will travel to London to establish contacts. The London post has been empty for several months, since former Brezhnev supporter Leonid Zamyatin, the former ambassador, was recalled because he had supported the putschists.

Nevertheless Pankin will remain Gorbachev's adviser—on the Presidential Council, a large circle which includes radical reformers like Shevardnadze, economist Nikolay Petrakov, and Mayor Gavriil Popov, and others.

In London Pankin will also represent Russia's interests.

Boris Pankin has been portrayed by foreign observers as having swallowed humiliations all too easily in his almost three months in office. He agreed to having his ministry cut by one-third. Did this really happen without a fight; was Yeltsin able to do what he wanted?

"You know, the fight took place more in the press," Pankin replied. "Although it certainly was an unpleasant moment when Yeltsin said that the Soviet Foreign Ministry must be slimmed down to one-tenth the size."

This did not happen, but Pankin did have to carry our a purge among personnel. Those who had to go were primarily KGB people.

"Old party members could not be purged when the party was banned," Boris Pankin said. "The party probably embraced 100 percent of the personnel in the building. I left the party on 21 August, as did my wife, Valentina."

Yeltsin banned the Communist Party on his territory on 7 November. But at embassies everybody had of course to be party members because certain decisions and orders only went through the party.

Boris Pankin himself has not been a believing communist for a long time.

"What happened to me personally was this: In 1969 I happened to spend a long time in hospital with a broken leg and I chose as my reading matter all the protocols from the party congresses, one after another. When you read them like that, it is clear what sort of people Trotskiy and Lenin were (even though Lenin was greater historically) and that we were wrong. I had also read the Bible and after all this I felt like some sort of "legal dissident."

I refrained from asking Boris Pankin how many people might have been working in the system although their

views differed from the mainstream. But in a different context Boris Pankin has said that the majority of communists knew the state of affairs and that it is pure hypocrisy for people to claim that they knew nothing about the party's crimes.

But what then did Pankin as an enlightened functionary think about his President Gorbachev's various maneuvers? Shevardnadze warned of the danger of dictatorship and resigned. But how did Boris Pankin read the turn to the right in October 1990 when Gorbachev repudiated his economic advisers and instead appointed Valentin Pavlov to carry through the radical so-called 500-days program for the transition to a market economy.

"I thought that it was a necessary maneuver," Pankin said first.

Then he added:

"What I really think is that when Gorbachev turned now to the right, now to the left, it was necessary for him to do so. I do not think that it was tactics on his party, but that he thought in those terms. He needed to be convinced by himself. And since August he has changed completely and now it is pure pleasure to work with him.

"Gorbachev had faith in the Communist Party. Perhaps I did have my own view. But we did not discuss such things when we met, and meetings did not happen that often either. After all, I was a long way away, in Stockholm and then in Prague."

Boris Pankin is very pleased that what he now sees as "stains" in relations between Sweden and the Soviet Union have now more or less disappeared:

"When I was prepared for my post in Sweden they said: You will be asked questions about the DC-3, about Wallenberg, and about submarines. The DC-3 affair is now closed, in the case of Wallenberg I believe that we have arrived at the true version, and we have plans to appoint a joint Soviet-Swedish committee on the submarines. The proposal is currently with the Soviet Defense Ministry, but I have raised the matter with the Swedish ambassador."

Alksnis Discusses Union, Baltics

LD2711033191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1140 GMT 26 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Arkadiy Prisyazhnyy]

[Text] Helsinki, 26 Nov (TASS)—"The Baltics will return to the Soviet Union." The newspaper DEMARI carried an interview with USSR People's Deputy Viktor Alksnis under this headline today.

"Unfortunately, we are incapable of doing anything any more; we are rushing toward the abyss in a car in which the brakes have failed," he thinks. The Soviet Union represents a danger for all of Europe, and for Finland it is more dangerous than even in Stalin's day. The USSR is governed now by anarchy and chaos, which could lead to an armed conflict; this will force the republics to think again and will bring the Baltics back into the USSR. In V. Alksnis' opinion, the new Union treaty must not repeat the mistake made by Lenin in 1922: The new constitution must not contain an article on the right to secede from the USSR.

V. Alksnis also believes that a "strong government" which will ban all parties will come to power in the immediate future, the newspaper writes. He has waited and hoped for this for several years now. He supported the August coup from the start. When he saw Gennadiy Yanayev's trembling fingers, however, he changed his attitude toward the plotters.

V. Alksnis asserts that in the future B. Yeltsin will have to deal more with tackling ethnic problems. On the one hand, he will be forced to take this course by the people's ever-increasing dissatisfaction with his economic policy. For instance, his popularity in St. Petersburg has dropped sharply since the announcement of the freeing of prices. The same is happening in Moscow. On the other hand, the newspaper notes, he does not believe that the Russians will long remain dispassionate observers after viewing the sufferings of Russians in Latvia.

MVD Crime Fighter Switches to New Service

LD2611225591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1844 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow, 26 November (TASS)—Militia General Aleksandr Gurov, head of the central directorate for fighting organized crime and a RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] people's deputy, has left the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD]. Moreover, he did not do this on his own accord. A week ago the new leadership of the country's MVD suggested that he should look for another job. The general talks about this in an interview in the 27 November LITERATURNAYA GAZETA. He thinks that the reason for his dismissal and the reorganization of the USSR MVD sixth central directorate for fighting organized crime is that its officers have discovered on many occasions "that people from the top establishment were either connected with the mafia structures or were used by them."

Crime is growing and taking on new forms, A. Gurov stresses. It shows tendencies toward politization and toward coming out onto the international scene. Just recently the directorate has been working on 48 major cases involving criminal groups with interregional and international connections. While nobody ever rang up and said directly "Do not touch such-and-such a person," we have increasingly felt that someone is not happy with a wide-ranging campaign against the mafia, the general noted. He concluded: "And just so that no one will rejoice, I have accepted V. Bakatin's offer to come and work in his department as a deputy head of the chief directorate for fighting organized crime."

Poll Highlights Scale of Poverty in Union

OW2311020791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1135 GMT 22 Nov 91

[From the "Nation & Society" feature: "Poverty in the USSR;" first paragraph is source-supplied introduction; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At IF's [INTERFAX] request, experts of the National Public Opinion Studies Centre Larisa Zubova and Natalya Kovalyova comment on the results of the latest opinion poll.

Although the Soviet citizens have realized that a switch-over to market relations is vital for our economy, they have serious fears lest their living standards might drop dramatically amid uncontrollable price-rise. As our recent opinion polls show, such fears are deeply rooted

Last year, when our respondents estimated their subsistence minimum at 120 rubles, the number of people earning less than that constituted 52 per cent of those polled. The situation has changed over the past 12 months. In August 1991, the subsistence minimum was estimated at 328 rubles. And, even though the population was compensated for the price rise, the number of citizens who found themselves below the poverty line increased to 84 percent.

Last year, many of our respondents were worried by a possible drop in living standards. Asked in the latest opinion poll if they feared lest their families living standards might drop to the poverty line; 64 percent said they did and only 17 percent said they did not. Nineteen percent of the respondents did not give any definite answer, which suggests that they were quite uncertain about their future. Thus, the ratio between those who were and were not worried about their future changed from 3 to 1 in 1990 to 5 to 1 in 1991.

Although concern about the future has been expressed by almost all of the social demographic groups, elderly people and pensioners who were hit the hardest by the price rise last April showed the greatest anxiety.

The degree of one's confidence in the future is determined by one's current material status. A certain amount of confidence has been expressed by those whose families' per capita monthly income was over 300 rubles. Incidentally, the number of such respondents did not exceed 11 percent. Their confidence rested on their savings, exceeding 5,000 rubles (which is considered to be quite a lot by average standards) and on a certain amount of property.

Those who are employed in new economic structures (joint stock societies, lease enterprises and cooperatives) look ahead with more optimism. Only 14 percent of the respondents from among the workers of joint-stock societies and 25 percent of the cooperators said they were afraid of becoming poor. At state enterprises such fears were expressed by 69 percent of the respondents. The reason for this is the gap in wages in the new and old economic sectors.

The newly-arisen psychological barrier is more easily overcome by citizens earning more than 1,000 rubles—the income which in our view corresponds to the current prices on consumer goods [passage as received]. According to the opinion poll, slightly over one percent of those polled earned that much.

What measures can one take to avoid the lot of a poor person?

The opinion poll showed that "passive" and "active" positions are equally common these days. However, compared with last year, the share of respondents who said that avoiding poverty was not in their power has increased from 24 to 37 percent, while the share of those who reckon on higher earnings has gone down from 30 to 21 percent.

The citizens' potential work fitness also largely depends on their current status. For instance, 60 percent of the people with the monthly per-capita income of 100 rubles are convinced that they are capable of taking active measures. Among those whose per-capita incomes exceed 400 rubles this index stands at 80 percent. As we can see, better-off families have a more active behavioral orientation and see a real opportunity for increasing their incomes. Ultimately, this may lead to an even deeper differentiation in society.

Judging from the respondents' answers, amid the current price hikes and falling living standards the population reckons on social guarantees and assistance. On the one hand, this reflects the parasitic [word as received] moods common among 54 percent of the population. But on the other, the parasitic and egalitarian ways are the back side of the rapidly spreading poverty, particularly among those who cannot take care of themselves—children and pensioners.

According to the latest opinion poll, our citizens tend to charge the state with the responsibility for assisting the poor. The brunt of this burden, they believe, still rests with the central government bodies. Over the past 12 months, the number of respondents who think that the key role in organizing aid to the poor families should be played by the republican authorities has increased more than two times, all of which vividly illustrates the disintegration of the Union.

No small importance is also attached to the enterprises employing low-income workers. In our opinion, their status would not have risen almost two times over the past 12 months without an active promotion efforts of charitable organizations [sentence as received].

Judging from the latest opinion polls, the population generally accepts two forms of aid to the poor families: benefits and the provision of goods and services for free or at a discount. As for the poor groups themselves, they

prefer benefits, even though the ruble is dramatically falling. At all appearances [passage as received], such families lack money even for meeting their immediate needs, so they spend whatever they have even before this money becomes devalued.

The opinion poll also showed that only 17 percent of the respondents were ready to make charitable payments. Seventy percent of those polled do not intend to do so. As a rule, such an orientation is not motivated by any principles. The explanation is simple: "I have no money." Just a few of the respondents said that in their opinion charity was a harmful thing.

So, there is no reckoning on charity.

Emigration Reportedly To Peak in 1993-1994

LD2611150891 Moscow TASS in English 1308 GMT 26 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Aleksay Golyayev]

[Text] Rome November 26 TASS—More than 400,000 people emigrated from the Soviet Union in 1990, whereas this year the number will be 700,000. These data were given at a symposium on the subject "New Europe and International Migration". The symposium which has opened in Turin has been organised by the Agnelli Foundation.

On the first day of the symposium, participants focussed their attention on a report by Lilia Shevtsova, head of the Russian Academy of Sciences' Centre for Political Studies.

The peak of emigration will be in 1993-1994 when two to three million citizens from various republics of the ex-Soviet Union are expected to leave for the West every year, she said. Then emigration will diminish to 600-700 thousand people a year.

As of today, according to the centre, about six million Soviet citizens contemplate in earnest the possibility of leaving the country in quest of a better lot abroad.

One of the main causes of such a state of affairs is the acutest economic crisis in the USSR. But emigration is stimulated still further by the lack of political stability in the USSR as a whole and individual republics in particular.

Official Comments on AIDS Situation

LD2511235691 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1730 GMT 25 Nov 91

[Interview with Vadim Pokrovskiy, chief of the USSR AIDS Center, by editor (Olga Gorbik); place and date not given; Pokrovskiy speaks in Russian with superimposed English translation—recorded]

[Text] On the request of our Tanzanian listener (Qasime Leonard Morick), our mail editor (Olga Gorbik) has met with the head of the specialized laboratory for the research and treatment of AIDS and the chief of the USSR AIDS center, Vadim Pokrovskiy. Today we bring you the first part of their talk.

[(Gorbik)] What's the essence of the program of combatting AIDS?

[Pokrovskiy] The center and the laboratory I head are subsidized by the state. The program foresees a set of measures in hospital and outpatient treatment, industrial production, and the social sphere, to check the spread of the disease in the Soviet Union. It also presupposes the development of testing systems and versatile medical equipment.

[(Gorbik)] Does the program reserve any role for the mass media?

[Pokrovskiy] Unfortunately I would call it a backlash. More attention should be paid to educational matters. We need regular programs on radio and television, while today the news media recall AIDS occasionally when they have nothing hot to speak about.

The general method here now is to invisibly insert information about AIDS in some articles, mainly (?entertaining), the message of which is then received by the human consciousness.

We do our educational task through the AIDS-INFO newspaper, having a circulation of some 2.5 million copies. It is the world's biggest publication of this sort. The newspaper carries few articles directly bearing on the disease but any material in it concerns the matter in one way or another, to bring our information home to the reader.

[(Gorbik)] What's your annual budget and does it meet your requirements? Can the deteriorating situation in the country and a possible changeover to a paid medical treatment lead to a situation when AIDS cases will be treated for pay only?

[Pokrovskiy] [Word indistinct] plans featured hundreds of millions of roubles for the program within a decade. [words indistinct] given a possibility of a growing number of AIDS victims, the coming years should see greater allocations. (?Our) country exercises a fully paid treatment for AIDS. For instance, insurance companies and direct financing by the Congress in the United States cover 70 percent of the treatment costs. A transition to a paid medicare [as heard] in this country would create immense difficulties for the AIDS sick. As yet we have been monitoring the disease charge-free.

[(Gorbik)] What's the situation in this country as compared to the global AIDS epidemic?

[Pokrovskiy] Frankly, the situation here is relatively stable. Registered today are 669 AIDS-infected Soviet citizens out of the 160 million people we have tested since 1987.

The Soviet Union seems to be the only country which can give the exact data on the number of the cases. Today we have about 5,000 virus carriers, which is substantially less than in any other state in Europe, Africa, or America. We scrupulously analyze each case, tracing down where and when our patients contracted it. In this way we discovered instances when immunodeficiency was contracted in hospitals. Unfortunately 250 kids were infected in a hospital and thanks to effective measures the spot has been localized. There have been no reports of the cases for more than a year.

More than a 1,000 labs have emerged in the country that take blood tests for the serum virus. We have compulsory tests for pregnant women, VD patients, donors, and the people returning after long stays abroad. This is how we have tested 160 million people.

A question may arise whether it is the proper way to use our means. For instance, to spot a single infected pregnancy we take 1.5 or 2 million blood tests. Incidentally, the United States have been increasingly learning from our experience in prophylaxis, although no state has yet scored notable anti-AIDS achievements.

[(Gorbik)] And what prophylactic treatment is available to foreign citizens?

[Pokrovskiy] In line with our laws, we are empowered to test all foreigners except the ones having diplomatic immunity. There are compulsory tests for foreign students and we know from practice one frequently enough comes across AIDS carriers among them. Nonetheless, the Soviet Union has no law inhibiting an entry or stay here to AIDS patients. Simply it is unreasonable for the developing countries to send AIDS-infected persons to study in the Soviet Union as in some five or six years after they have contracted the disease they become sick.

From the point of view of human rights this is a complex matter, but each country has the right to resolve AIDS-related questions along the line of its laws and we cannot interfere.

[Studio announcer] That was the first instalment of Olga (Gorbik's) talk with Vadim Pokrovskiy, chief of the all-Union centre for combatting AIDS. The second instalment in our next edition will discuss the spread of AIDS in the countries of Africa.

TASS Carries Press Review for 27 Nov

LD2711110491 Moscow TASS in English 1033 GMT 27 Nov 91

["Soviet Press Review"—Tass Headline]

[Text] Moscow November 27 TASS—On Wednesday [27 November] most of the newspapers analyse the Novo-Ogarevo process which is aimed at working out a Union treaty for the former Soviet republics. PRAVDA and TRUD carry the draft treaty and their analysis of the meeting. The Soviet parliament Union Chamber Chairman Konstantin Lubenchenko in an interview with a SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA correspondent said the meeting was "far from smooth" and "there were clashes of interests and points of view but the idea of unity was dominating".

The slowing down of the process warns that hopes that the Union treaty will be signed in the nearest future remain nothing but hopes so far, the RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA daily stresses.

Situation in Nagorno-Karabakh and Chechen-Ingushetia, the circumstances of a crash of a military helicopter carrying parliamentarians from Azerbaijan, Russia and Kazakhstan, the Soviet union parliament session, remain in the focus of the newspapers' attention. Newspapers inform of the resuming of a session of the Tatar parliament interrupted over a month ago because of mass disturbances in the Tatar capital city of Kazan. The agenda includes draft decrees on economy, state sovereignty and a law on referendum.

TRUD carries an article by a well-known Soviet economist Grigoriy Yavlinskiy who was in charge of a team developing the draft Soviet Economic Community Treaty and its 24 supplements. The package presents a concrete mechanism of putting the treaty stipulations into practice, Yavlinsky writes adding it is vitally important that the treaty come into effect before the end of this year. None of the problems the Soviet Union is now facing can be solved without the Economic Treaty, Yavlinskiy says.

Russian Prosecutor General Valentin Stepankov in an article in TRUD criticises sharply the concept of a judicial reform in Russia as it "forgets the terms, the money and the personnel". Stepankov believes Russia is not able to make allocations for the reform.

PRAVDA informs its readers the Communist Party liquidation committee has completed its work in the Armed Forces. More than 29 basic party organisations with over a million members have been abolished.

A Soviet nuclear expert in an article published by KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA today writes that strategic military parity will be ruined and non-proliferation of nuclear weapons on the planet cannot be thought of if the Soviet Union impels top nuclear technology experts to leave the country.

Customs service will be introduced along the borders shared with the Baltic states only, chairman of the newly-established Russian State Customs Committee Anatoliy Kruglov told ROSSIISKAYA GAZETA correspondent. He is convinced that such barriers are not necessary between other subjects of the former Soviet Union and might lead to a "customs warfare".

Preparations for the Democratic Reform Movement's constituent congress on December 14-15 are currently

under way in Moscow. Executive secretary of the organizing committee Sergey Trube describes the process in the Wednesday [27 November] issue of TRUD.

Soviet parliament deputy Viktor Alksnis warns of the danger of developing armed forces throughout the former Soviet republics, calling the tendency "a road to disaster". When a politician gets army units at his disposal, he says in today's KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, his political ambitions can grow enormously. Nuclear arsenals can fall into possession of separatist leaders obsessed with dominating their neighbours, Alksnis writes.

Petr Filippov, chairman of the Russian Parliamentary Subcommittee on Privatisation writes in RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA that the privatisation programme, currently being developed by the USSR State Property Committee, will solve all the existing ownership problems.

According to Baltic Officers' Club Chairman Colonel Kondalovskiy, it will take at least two years to withdraw troops from Baltic states. The situation is further complicated by the fact that there is no plan to relocate withdrawing troops. Kondalovskiy expresses his concern over the fact that officers can simply be fired with nowhere to go.

The international problems covered by newspapers include Yugoslavia, the Middle East, and other "hot spots on the planet". Economic cooperation receives wide coverage as well.

Economic

Republics' Export, Import Balances Revealed

OW2711033791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2035 GMT 26 Nov 91

[From the "Soviet Business Report": "The Export and Import Balance of the Sovereign Republics for the First 9 Months of 1991"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text]

	Exports of goods manufactured in the republics (in billion rubles)	Imports of goods (in billion rubles)	Correlation of imports and exports
RUSSIA	47.6	30.0	158.7
UKRAINE	6.3	8.3	75.9
BELORUSSIA	2.2	4.1	54.0
UZBEKISTAN	0.8	1.6	50.0
KAZAKHSTAN	1.0	2.0	50.0
AZERBAIJAN	0.4	1.0	40.0
GEORGIA	0.2	1.9	10.5
MOLDOVA	0.2	0.7	28.6
KYRGYZSTAN	0.1	0.7	14.0
TAJIKISTAN	0.3	0.6	50.0
ARMENIA	0.1	0.7	14.5
TURKMENIA	0.1	0.5	20.0

But experts warn that these figures should be approached with a certain degree of caution, since many factors are not reflected in them. Moldova, for example, imports a considerable amount of raw materials for the sugar refining industry, the output of which is subsequently exported to the other republics.

Funds May Fall Short for 1992 Grain Purchases

OW2711033191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2035 GMT 26 Nov 91

[From the "Soviet Business Report"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Soviet Union could face difficulties in its grain purchases for 1992. At present there are currency credits available for the import of approximately 11 mn. [million] tonnes of grain. These purchases could be made against loans given by the United States ($1.25 bn. [billion]) and the EEC 500 mn. ECU [European currency units]).

The country's overall grain import requirements are set at 49.7 mn. tonnes, costing approximately $5 bn. As in 1991, it is intended that all grain imports will be paid for by credits.

Aeroflot Airworthiness Considered 'Critical'

LD2611211591 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1630 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Text] Each of us resorts to the services of air transport about three times a year. Nevertheless, few people know that among the world's airlines the Soviet Aeroflot leads in the number of fatal accidents. A critical situation is developing. A report from our correspondent from USSR Gosaviadnadzor:

[Correspondent A.Poklada] Gosaviadnadzor is the organization called on to safeguard flight safety in our country, and it is on the quality of its work that our safe landing after taking off on our next vacation or tour of duty depends.

[Begin recording] [I.Ye.Mashkovskiy, chairman of Gosaviadnadzor] This year there have been 149 air incidents, including 30 disasters. A total of 102 passengers and crew have died and roughly the same have sustained injuries.

The flight safety situation has particularly deteriorated in recent months. Due to a lack of finance, the implementation of flight safety programs has effectively ended, because in recent months we have received not a

kopeck. We have not even been able to send out duty teams to investigate the consequences of aviation incidents.

What is particularly terrible at present is that the aviation equipment is getting old. Its flight worthiness has deteriorated. And the air-carrier is forced to stretch out the resources allocated. [end recording]

[Poklada] Meanwhile, the financing of Gosaviadnadzor has been discontinued, but we keep flying.

Many Expect Economic Catastrophe, Disorder

OW2711085491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0758 GMT 27 Nov 91

[From the "Viewpoint" feature; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] 44% of Russians, 24% of those living in Central Asia, and 19% of Ukrainians think that either this winter or spring their republics will be hit by economic catastrophe and mass disorder. A poll conducted by VICOM in November 1991 testifies to this. 2035 people were questioned in a representative selection throughout the country, the DATA agency says.

49% of Central Asian inhabitants, 44% of Ukrainians and 31% of Russians did not agree with this claim.

38% of Ukrainians, 27% in Central Asia and 25% of Russians did not answer the question.

Margin of error is 3%.

Estonia

Army, Border Service Get 15 Percent of Budget

PM2611165791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Nov 91 Union Edition p 2

["Direct Line" report by Leonid Levitskiy: "Former U.S. and USSR Officers Drawing Up Estonian Defense Blueprint"]

[Text] November in Estonia has been illuminated by the army star. Parliamentarians are discussing draft and service matters, economists are discussing expenditure on the military, and the government has approved the defense forces Main Staff regulations.

Ants Laaneots, acting chief of the Main Staff and former military commissar of Tartu, said that the regulations are based on the 1938 law on defense, and they will probably have to be amended once the Estonian Constitution and the defense blueprint are adopted. Former officers of the armies of the United States and the USSR—Estonian nationals—are engaged in drawing it up.

The government has placed with major enterprises a state order for defense-related products. For instance, the "Dvigatel" plant, which was part of the USSR defense complex prior to nationalization, will manufacture barrier gates, posts, mechanical barriers for the border, and helmets.

According to economic observers, more than 130 million rubles are being set aside for the army and border service. That is 15 percent of total budget expenditure.

Cooperation Protocol Signed With Finland

LD2611221191 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1800 GMT 25 Nov 91

[Excerpts] The Finnish and Estonian agriculture ministers have signed a cooperation protocol. Juhan Virkus reports:

[Virkus] [passage omitted] One of the people involved in drawing up the cooperation protocol is adviser (Mati Vaarman). What kind of spheres will the protocol affect?

[Begin (Vaarman) recording] First and foremost, the protocol affects agriculture. [passage omitted] We are not so much talking about an agreement and its volume as about a cooperation protocol between the ministries of two countries, and it is for a longer period than only 1992. It determines the principles and main areas of cooperation. As an addendum to the protocol, specific aims will be revised and signed every year. Cooperation commissions have been set up by both sides; they will be looking at cooperation procurements and they will, in practice, determine the amounts and procedure of financing. [passage omitted] [end recording]

[Begin recording] [Virkus] Harri Ounapuu, Estonian agriculture minister, how do you evaluate the protocol which you have just signed?

[Ounapuu] The protocol will provide opportunities for everybody—private farmers, state and collective farms, and businessmen—to unleash their initiative. The protocol will provide an opportunity for us to use Finnish training facilities, for us to practice over there and learn farming. Separately—taking into account the fact that in the coming winter, in January and February we will probably enter a crisis—it also includes provisions to the effect that if we find ourselves in a very difficult situation we will receive direct emergency aid as well. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Latvia

Supreme Council on Prisoners' Strike Demands

LD2711104191 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1830 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Text] This evening the Supreme Council Presidium examined the demands by the prisoners' strike committee. A resolution was adopted by the Presidium in which the procedure of examining the requests for amnesty has been democratized. The Presidium also discussed a resolution on measures to improve the situation at prisons in connection with the change of state status of the Republic of Latvia.

The Presidium proposes that the Ministry of Internal Affairs prepare by 15 December a draft law on amnesty, envisaging the release of sentenced underage persons and sentenced women, and a draft law on the release of some other categories of sentenced persons. The Presidium also requests the preparation of alterations and addenda to the Corrective Labor Code of Latvia, in order to improve the conditions of confinement for sentenced persons in prisons. In addition, alterations and addenda are recommended to the Criminal Code. By 31 December 1992, the drafts of the new criminal code, criminal process code, and serving of punishment code for the Republic of Latvia must be submitted for examination by the Supreme Council. It has been recommended that Supreme Court Chairman Zemribo and the Procurator General Skrastins organize regular meetings in the colonies for the sentenced persons regarding questions on legality and sentence validity.

Lithuania

Landsbergis Comments on Soviet Troops Issue

LD2611141191 Vilnius Radio Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 0200 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Text] According to Vytautas Landsbergis, it is probably the new putchist plans and not the shortage of housing in Russia that is impeding the start of the withdrawal from Lithuania of Soviet troops by the Soviet leadership.

In a regular television address on 24 November, much attention was paid by the leader of the Lithuanian parliament to the presence of Soviet troops in Lithuania. According to Landsbergis, even if the problem of housing is delaying the withdrawal of troops, the Soviets should show goodwill and first withdraw the assault equipment. Commanders could then let the soldiers go home.

Landsbergis said that Lithuanian authorities have not been informed about the observed movement of armored military equipment. He said that the combat readiness of the military units is being checked, that there is an impermissible dissemination of weapons, and that the appearance of new paratroopers has been noted. He said that old January heroes continue to hold command posts, as well as the August putchists such as General Ovcharov, former deputy commander of the Soviet troops deployed in the Baltic states.

In Landsbergis' opinion, the Soviet Armed Forces are deliberately supplying weapons, including those with great destructive capacity, to anyone hoping that a situation like that in Nagorno-Karabakh will occur in Lithuania. The parliamentary chairman said that it is necessary to adopt a law as soon as possible to declare the handing over or selling weapons by the Soviet troops to anyone except the government of Lithuania as a crime of a destructive nature.

Concern Over Soviet Missiles at Nuclear Plant

OW2611192291 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1443 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In a telegram to Soviet Defense Minister Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, the vice prime minister of Lithuania expressed his concern regarding the Soviet anti-aircraft missiles located at the Ignalinskiy atomic energy station. The division of Soviet missiles is supposed to be relocated shortly. "Lithuanian leaders do not accept this, it raises a certain danger for the atomic energy station," the message says.

The Lithuanian vice prime minister suggests to Shaposhnikov that talks start shortly on this issue.

Landsbergis Discusses Relations With Poland

AU2711101691 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 21 Nov 91 p 4

[Interview with President Vytautas Landsbergis by Jacek Palasinski; place and date not given: "We Want To Have the Best Possible Relations With Poland"]

[Text] [Palasinski] In your opinion, what kind of position should Lithuania occupy in Europe and European international organizations in the future?

[Landsbergis] We are already involved in the work of new international institutions and will be admitted to other institutions in the near future. We want to continue to develop friendly political and economic relations with the West. Like Poland, we want to acquire the status of associate members of the EEC. Currently, we are very concerned about the fate of Slovenia and Croatia: We have plans to launch a peace initiative. It has to be remembered that Lithuania was the first state that recognized their independence. We have excellent relations with the states of northern Europe: They were the first to accord us recognition, and we are receiving very valuable, concrete aid from them. We are also planning to join EFTA [European Free Trade Association].

We also want to maintain the best possible relations with the eastern states, both economic and political relations, starting with Russia, with which we already have an interstate treaty; we attach a lot of importance to it. We have signed a joint declaration with Belorussia, and we are working on treaties with the other states that have grown up on the ruins of the USSR.

We would like to have the best possible relations with Poland based on an interstate treaty. The text of a joint declaration that is to serve as the cornerstone of good-neighborly relations already exists: We are waiting for it to be signed by Minister Skubiszewski.

[Palasinski] In your opinion, what poses the greatest threat to peace on our continent at the present time?

[Landsbergis] The greatest threat is undoubtedly posed by the economic and social crisis sweeping the USSR and, above all, Russia. If it is not brought under control, things will become really grave, but I am an optimist: Yeltsin is following the path of reform, and the Russian leadership wants to eradicate communism and postcommunism, and build a great, new democratic country.

[Palasinski] But a strong Russia will surely be a threat to all the smaller states in eastern Europe?

[Landsbergis] Not necessarily. It should not be assumed that a large country must always be a threat.

[Palasinski] For the past couple of hundred years it has.

[Landsbergis] Yes, but we should not, in my opinion, hold some metaphysical view of history. Great Britain, for example, is no longer a threat to its colonies. I think that Russia will also stop being a threat to its former "colonies."

[Palasinski] Poland was the other threat to Lithuania.

[Landsbergis] To some extent it was. When a new Lithuanian state came into existence after centuries, Poland wanted to gain control of it.

[Palasinski] How can both sides avoid the mistakes that were made in 1919?

[Landsbergis] I do not know what mistakes you are thinking of?

[Palasinski] The uncompromisingly anti-Polish stance of the Slezivicius government in Kaunas.

[Landsbergis] When the talk is of anti-Polish tendencies in Lithuania, I immediately think of the charges of being "anti-Soviet" that were leveled at us a year ago. That is not so: If a small country wants to be independent, it is not a question of being "anti" something or someone but of self-defense.

[Palasinski] What is your assessment of the results of your meeting with the pope?

[Landsbergis] The meeting is something that I will hold very dear to me. It covered a very wide range of topics. We talked about historical matters, current issues, and relations between Lithuania and the Holy See. It was particularly gratifying to be able to stress once again the great love and loyalty that the Lithuanians feel toward the pope and the Catholic Church, although the pope was, of course, well aware of that. We are particularly grateful to the Vatican for maintaining an embassy representing the independent Republic of Lithuania for so many years.

[Palasinski] Did you also discuss Polish-Lithuanian relations with the pope?

[Landsbergis] Not really. We did talk about a historical aspect because the pope mentioned the canonization of Jozef Rafal Kalinowski, who served both nations. We also talked in general terms about the great historical heritage linking the two nations.

[Palasinski] During your visit to the Vatican, you had an opportunity to meet President Walesa for the first time. How did the meeting go? I was told that the Lithuanian side made some gesture toward the head of the Polish state that was not reciprocated. What was the gesture?

[Landsbergis] On entering the basilica, I was very pleased to be able to walk up to President and Mrs. Walesa and to greet them. We exchanged a few private words and that was everything.

[Palasinski] Was the Lithuanian side counting on some longer meeting, on talks?

[Landsbergis] No such proposals were made, although it is true to say that it would have been an opportunity, but the president might have been too busy.

[Palasinski] How does the Lithuanian side intend to solve the problem of the Polish minority in Lithuania?

[Landsbergis] The Polish minority is not a problem for Lithuania. The problem was Soviet influence exerted over the Polish minority and the actions harming Lithuanian independence that the Soviet influence gave rise to. That was the problem with which we had to deal.

[Palasinski] Mr. President, it is being said that nationalism is currently the strongest element uniting the Lithuanian nation. Are you not afraid that the nationalists will "outstrip" you and that nationalism might be harmful to Lithuania's independence?

[Landsbergis] There is much talk of the danger of nationalism, but no one has demonstrated how it manifests itself and how it can threaten anyone. I think that Lithuanian "nationalism" is a propaganda invention. There is no political force in Lithuania threatening national minorities. It is true that in some quarters doubts have been expressed about granting citizenship to Russians who settled here after the war, but even these calls have been few and far between.

[Palasinski] How does Lithuania intend to solve problems connected with the ownership of land and enterprises?

[Landsbergis] Privatization is under way and property is being returned to those who legally own it.

[Palasinski] Does that not apply solely to Lithuanian citizens?

[Landsbergis] Yes, that is the principle, but because the overwhelming majority of Polish citizens have opted to assume Lithuanian citizenship, there should be no particular problems in this area.

[Palasinski] What requests would you address to Poland and what would you want the future of relations with Poland to bring?

[Landsbergis] We desire cooperation and mutual noninterference above all. A large country should be more sensitive in its treatment of smaller states; it should do everything possible to avoid creating the impression that it is exerting pressure and striving to gain supremacy. I felt very strange when I read some of the commentaries that appeared in Polish newspapers in September on the dissolution of the local councils in several districts in eastern Lithuania. "There are 40 million of us, and Lithuania should not forget that," wrote one paper. It sounded like an echo from the shameful past, a past that should not return, but I am certain that we will be able to achieve relations that are as friendly as possible.

[Palasinski] What reservations do you currently have regarding Polish Government policy toward Lithuania? I am thinking specifically of the government's stance and not that of insignificant political forces?

[Landsbergis] The Polish Government's stance—which was very cautious at one time, and that also applied to the conclusion of bilateral agreements—is in keeping with international norms in our opinion. What worries me are those "insignificant political forces." I am afraid that they may in due course grow and become a threat to Poland's neighbors. That would not, of course, promote peace in our region.

[Palasinski] Thank you.

Poland Termed 'Greatest Threat'

AU2711094991 Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 22-24 Nov 91 pp 1, 12

[Unattributed article: "A. Butkevicius Is Afraid of Poland"]

[Text] Audrius Butkevicius, the Lithuanian minister of national defense, said he believes that Poland poses the greatest threat to Lithuania's independence. A territorial dispute may cause friction between the two states.

According to the defense minister, the situation in Lithuania itself and around it is becoming increasingly grave. There is a threat to the republic not only from the east—a USSR that is in the process of disintegrating and with all its additional problems—and from the west, that is, from Poland. In an interview for the daily LIETUVOS AIDAS, A. Butkevicius agrees with a journalist who says that after having spent 50 years within the Soviet empire, Lithuania has forgotten about Poland as a potential threat, a fairly sharp reminder of which was provided during the Polish parliamentary election campaign.

Butkevicius said that when "Solidarity" was the main force, Poland made many friendly gestures toward Lithuania, but now on his desk he has numerous press items popularizing the Home Army, reports on statements issued by the Catholic Church in Poland, and he knows that the view that Vilnius is disputed territory continues to be popular in Poland.

In response to a journalist's statement that Poles consider Koenigsberg and Lvov, not just Vilnius, disputed territories, Butkevicius says: "Yes, I find things increasingly worrying when I look that way."

Landsbergis Aide Admits Cooperation With KGB

LD2611150291 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Text] The RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY reports that Virgilijus Cepaitis, an aide to Vytautas Landsbergis and chairman of the council of the Independence Party, admitted that he has been cooperating with the KGB starting in 1963. He worked under the false name of Juozas. He admitted this in a letter to the parliamentary commission investigating KGB activities in Lithuania. Documents belonging to the commission were published in RESPUBLIKA newspaper today.

Ministry Seeks Help in Finding OMON Members

PM2611152391 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 23 Nov 91 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Yu.G. Fedoseyev's Response to the Lithuanian Police: The Moscow Criminal Investigation Department Does Not Engage in Political Investigation"]

[Text] Our newspaper has already described how the police of the Baltic republics are hunting on Russian territory former members of the Special Purpose Militia Detachment [OMON] who, until quite recently, were fulfilling their oath and the laws of the Soviet Union in the republics. The other day the Moscow Criminal Investigation Department received a special issue of "Operational Investigation Bulletin No. 22" of the Lithuanian Republic Internal Affairs Ministry Police Department's Main Criminal Police Administration, signed by A. Sadyatskas [name as transliterated].

Mr. Sadyatskas asks the Moscow Criminal Investigation Department for help in finding not only former members of the OMON but also Doctor of Historical Sciences Mykolas Burokevicius, former first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party (CPSU) Central Committee; Algimantas Naujunas, former head of the Political-Legal Department and member of the Lithuanian Communist Party (CPSU) Central Committee Bureau; Juozas Jermalavicius, former chief of the Lithuanian Communist Party (CPSU) Central Committee Ideological Department; and other Communists.

The hunt for Boleslav Makutinovich, former deputy commander of the Lithuanian Ministry of Internal Affairs special detachment, is also continuing.

The response by Yu. Fedoseyev, chief of the Moscow Criminal Investigation Department, recently sent to A. Sadyatskas requires no commentary, in our view:

"Esteemed Colleague,

"Regarding the special issue of 'Operational Investigation Information Bulletin No. 22,' dated 6 November, 1991, which you have sent us asking for help in finding and detaining the 'organizers of the armed coup d'etat in Lithuania'—M.M. Burokevicius, I.I. Vysotskiy, A.K. Monkevich, A.J. Naujunas, and J.J. Jermalavicius—the 'bandit' B.L. Makutinovich, and the 'robber' V.M. Roshchin, I deem it necessary to state the following:

"From its inception the Moscow Criminal Investigation Department has engaged purely in the exposure of criminals (thieves, murderers, bandits, rapists, etc.) and was not dragged into political investigations even during the time of Yezhov, Abakumov, and Beria. I hope that the Moscow Criminal Investigation Department will also maintain this position during the period of perestroyka and restoration and will not besmirch itself by getting involved in the persecution of people for political reasons, particularly comrades-in-arm who fulfilled their oath.

"I had thought this position was shared by other criminal investigation workers, and your message came therefore as an unpleasant surprise to me.

"I would ask you to desist henceforth from sending such requests to the Moscow Criminal Investigation Department.

"At the same time, despite the absence of a treaty between our republics on providing legal assistance, you can be absolutely sure that Moscow Criminal Investigation Department staffers will assist their Lithuanian colleagues in finding and detaining people who have committed crimes which fall within their competence.

"[Signed] Militia Colonel Yu.G. Fedoseyev"

Federation Affairs

Yeltsin, Regional Representatives View Reforms

LD2611180191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1449 GMT 26 Nov 91

[By TASS parliamentary correspondent Galina Vinitskaya]

[Text] Moscow, 26 Nov (TASS)—"We are relying on your help, intellectual and psychological efforts, which are particularly necessary now to carry out radical economic reform and explain it to people." With these words Russian President Boris Yeltsin began his meeting with his representatives in the regions of the republic today.

The head of Russia reminded those present about the presidential decrees and government decisions aimed at effecting economic reform.

After dwelling particularly on the draft decree on the liberalization of prices, the president emphasized that "There is now no other solution, and liberalization must be carried out in December." "In a month or two," he added, "it will already be too late and useless to do it." It is envisaged that fixed, state prices will remain for some raw materials, fabrics, and foodstuffs including oil, all kinds of fuel for the popuiation, milk, some kinds of bread, salt, and matches. "From calculations, we expect prices to increase by three to five times," said Boris Yeltsin, "but, owing to the vicissitudes of the market, calculations may let us down."

The Russian president urged his representatives in the regions "not to yield to requests to provide tax preferences." "No country has passed through reforms without losses or a fall in the standard of living," he said. Boris Yeltsin expressed hope that people will understand the need for the measures now being taken.

Further on Meeting

LD2611210691 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1630 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Report from the Russian White House in Moscow by correspondent T. Komarova, including interview with Nizhnyy Novgorod Oblast's Russian presidential representative B. Ye. Nemtsov—from the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer Yelena Kovalkova] For the first time in three months, Russian President Boris Yeltsin met his representatives today, and they got to know each other.

[Komarova] The local representatives of the Russian president are at the White House today. It is understandable that it is extremely difficult for them in their workplaces. Understandably, the real power which was possessed by the secretaries of city and oblast committees of the CPSU are not inherited, and the vested trust will subside together with goods from the shops.

President Yeltsin is undoubtedly trying to instill confidence and hope in them, explaining again and again that there is no alternative to implementing the reform harshly, in one phase. Incidentally, humanitarian aid from abroad which, as you know, has hitherto been mercilessly plundered, will be directed by military transport to the most impoverished regions of the country, but this of course is not salvation.

In order to implement local reforms, it is necessary, in addition to courage, to possess the levers of power. Do they exist?

[Nemtsov] There are of course no real levers of power such as those of an oblast committee first secretary, where it was possible to issue a party reprimand,etc., and this actually complicates the activity of representatives. The working experience of representatives in various regions shows completely opposite results because there is no thoroughly elaborated legal mechanism.

So it seems to me that there are two possibilities: Either this institution dies or, by contrast, it is strengthened by some specific and clearly defined legal act, or else, I think some kind of transformation is possible where the presidential representative is also the head of the administration.

[Komarova] Nevertheless, it is very important, as he himself feels, for presidential representatives to persuade people of the need for the reforms and to support that same vested trust mentioned earlier, but to persuade people that it is necessary to endure the expected three or five-fold price increase is far from easy. Will they be able to do it?

Shokhin Discusses Price Liberalization

LD2711050591 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2000 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Interview with Aleksandr Nikolayevich Shokhin, deputy chairman of the Russian Government, by correspondent Nikolay Artemyev; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Artemyev] Aleksandr Nikolayevich, it is no longer a secret to anyone that an economic shock treatment awaits us, and many have already prepared for it as though it were a bitter medicine that nevertheless must be taken. One often hears the question: When will the government embark on fundamental reforms? When, for example, will prices be freed?

[Shokhin] I want to say that the main point of the measures which have been announced in part in decrees and other decisions of the president and the government boils down to preparing for the liberalization of prices.

One cannot liberalize prices without setting up an effective tax system. One cannot go on to liberalizing prices without setting up mechanisms for shock absorption, social shock absorbers, for the population. One cannot go over to a new regime of price setting under the conditions of the existing monetary and financial system, an inflated budget deficit, a huge internal debt, etc.

Therefore, the fact that the government—or rather the president—has not yet issued a decree liberalizing prices is natural and normal. Such a decree or such a decision can be adopted only after the necessary preconditions are prepared. That, in fact, is what the government is now working on very actively.

Yeltsin Signs More Presidential Decrees

On Federal Security Agency

LD2611191391 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1800 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Text] Today Russian President Boris Yeltsin signed a decree on transforming the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] KGB into a federal security agency [agenstvo federalnoy bezopasnosti]. In accordance with a provisional supplement to the decree, it is subordinate to the Russian president and accountable to the RSFSR Supreme Soviet. The federal security agency's main areas of activity will be intelligence, counterintelligence, fighting organized crime and corruption, providing information to power and administration organs, and combatting terrorism.

Former Russian KGB chairman and now general director of the federal security agency, Viktor Ivanenko, said that the organ's structures will undertake considerable changes. In particular, the agency's new structure will unite separate counterintelligence organs, and will also eliminate the directorate for protecting the constitutional system—the former sixth main committee. Ivanenko also said that the directorate for combatting terrorism would deal with preventing possible social disorders in Russia. He said, moreover, that the situation in the major Russian towns, and particularly Moscow, was getting worse. Ivanenko also said that over the past few weeks inspections had been carried out of the KGB directorates of Krasnodar Kray and Rostov and Chelyabinsk Oblasts, which had shown initially that the KGB's territorial organs were in a state of crisis. Ivanenko said that out of 70 heads of territorial KGB directorates, 20 had been dismissed and 30 would soon be dismissed. He said that major personnel reform will be carried out.

On Emergencies Committee

PM2711104391 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Nov 91 First Edition p 1

[Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, RSFSR, presidential decree "On the RSFSR President's State Committee for Civil Defense, Emergencies, and the Elimination of the Consequences of Natural Disasters"]

[Text] 1. A State Committee for Civil Defense, Emergencies, and the Elimination of the Consequences of Natural Disasters shall be set up under the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] president on the basis of the RSFSR State Committee for Emergencies and the RSFSR Civil Defense Headquarters.

2. Sergey Kuzhugetovich Shoyga shall be appointed chairman of the RSFSR President's State Committee for Civil Defense, Emergencies, and the Elimination of the Consequences of Natural Disasters.

[Signed] RSFSR President B. Yeltsin
Moscow, the Kremlin, 19 November 1991

On Economic Interests Chief

PM2711113591 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Nov 91 First Edition p 1

[Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, RSFSR, presidential decree "On the RSFSR President's Committee for the Protection of the Russian Federation's Economic Interests"]

[Text] With a view to ensuring control over the observance of the economic interests of the Russian Federation and in accordance with Paragraph 10 of RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] presidential decree No. 66 of 20 August 1991 "On Safeguarding the Economic Basis for RSFSR Sovereignty," I resolve:

to appoint Nikolay Aleksandrovich Yermakov chairman of the RSFSR President's Committee for the Protection of RSFSR Economic Interests;

to instruct N.A. Yermakov to submit draft regulations on the Committee and its apparatus within the space of one month.

[Signed] RSFSR President B. Yeltsin
Moscow, the Kremlin, 19 November 1991

On Conversion Committee

PM2611103991 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 23 Nov 91 First Edition p 1

[Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, RSFSR, presidential decree "On the Chairman of the State Committee for Conversion Under the RSFSR President"]

[Text] Mikhail Nikolayevich Bazhanov is appointed chairman of the State Committee for Conversion under the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] president.

[Signed] RSFSR President B. Yeltsin
Moscow, the Kremlin, 19 November 1991

On Tax Exemptions

PM2611163391 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 23 Nov 91 First Edition p 2

[Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, RSFSR, presidential decree "On Additional Measures for the Social Protection of Officials of the Internal Affairs Organs and Servicemen of the RSFSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Internal Troops"]

[Text] With the aim of providing additional social protection for officials of the internal affairs organs and servicemen of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] Internal Troops during transition to the market economy, I resolve:

1. To exempt rank and file and command personnel of the internal affairs organs and all categories of servicemen of the RSFSR MVD Internal Troops who are on allowances, monetary awards, or other payments received in connection with the fulfillment of their service obligations from paying income tax, the bachelor tax, and the tax on citizens who are single or have small families.

2. To establish that the action of this decree extends to rank and file and command personnel of the internal affairs organs and to Internal Troops servicemen under the command of the relevant chiefs (commanders) of internal affairs organs and military subunits who, without retaining their posts, go on training courses at RSFSR MVD academic institutions, and also to commanding officers of the internal affairs organs and servicemen of the RSFSR MVD Internal Troops attached to organs of state power and administration in accordance with the existing legislation.

3. This decree is effective from 1 November 1991.

[Signed] RSFSR President B. Yeltsin
Moscow, the Kremlin, 21 November 1991

'Crisis' Between Parliament, Government Viewed

PM2611140991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Nov 91 Union Edition p 1

[Article by V. Kononenko: "The Government Will Evidently Respond to Parliament's Attack Today"]

[Text] New signs of a crisis in relations between the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet and Government, which was manifested back at the time of the Alma-Ata meeting, are again visible. This time it was all started off in connection with the parliamentarians' ostentatious refusal to approve the draft president's decree "on finance and credit backup for economic reform and the reorganization of the banking system of the RSFSR."

Its thrust was that the document contains a point which mentions the transfer to the management of the RSFSR Ministry of Finances of the enterprises and organizations of the RSFSR State Administration of the Production of State Insignia, Coins, and Orders, the State Repository, and the Glavalmazzoloto situated on RSFSR territory, which was interpreted by the deputies as an illegal act. The government, they said, cannot be allowed to dispose on its own of the people's property and print money as it sees fit. As a result the president's decree was put aside and the Supreme Soviet adopted its own resolution which essentially ties the hands of the reform government.

According to information received by your IZVESTIYA correspondent in Russian government circles, there will be a response to the parliamentarians' challenge, but first how does the government see the situation which has taken shape? It believes that the parliament's demarche was caused not by fundamental differences specifically with regard to this decree. The reason lies deeper. The Russian parliament was formed under the conditions of a tough political struggle with the Union structures and the bloc of supporters of the "socialist idea." It not only elaborated the policy of future transformations but also made decisions. Now the situation has changed—the president has headed the government, which has come out with a program of serious changes. The parliamentarians have suddenly felt they were not involved in the reforms. A certain jealousy is even appearing with regard to the president, who has switched his attention to the government. Hence the consolidation of reformist and conservative forces in parliament, which could easily be noted during the discussion of the president's decree.

Now about the essence of this document. The government believes that rebukes addressed to it claiming that it wants to put the money printing press under its control and to take the keys to the basements containing the gold reserve, precious metals, and diamonds are farfetched. It is merely a case of the subordination to the RSFSR Ministry of Finances of these specific enterprises like any other production facilities. This measure has been caused by the complex period in which the market is not yet operating at full strength, prices for precious metals have not been liberated, and there is an acute need to control the process of the distribution of gold and diamonds between consumers and to prevent speculation on a gigantic scale. The Russian central bank must, according to the government's design, be independent of the government and of the parliament and include the money printing press, proceeding from economic expediency.

The parliament's refusal to approve this document also means that it is not fulfilling the decisions of the Fifth Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies which granted the president the right to issue decrees which could contradict in some parts existing RSFSR legislation. Moreover, the parliament is obliged either to approve the decree or, if it disagrees with it, to adopt it for discussion as a draft law and submit a decision within 10 days. That was not

done. The parliament's own resolution appeared, which is reminiscent of a document not of legislative but of executive power.

There are several options for overcoming the crisis: agreeing on what would coincide with the world practice of mutual relations between legislative and executive power; and the second option is that if no agreement is reached the president could demand the convening of an extraordinary congress of people's deputies. If it does not resolve this problem it would resign. The third option in the very grave situation in which the Russian economy finds itself would mean catastrophe. Therefore the first option remains preferable. On the 26th G. Burbulis will probably address the parliamentarians and try to ascertain the position of the government and the necessity and expediency of the steps it is taking. I think that the deputies should overcome the syndrome of their noninvolvement in reforms and understand that they are designed to back them up legislatively and not delay them.

Filshin on Independent Foreign Trade Ministry

PM2611101391 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 20 Nov 91 First Edition p 3

["We Supply the Details" report "prepared by V. Kuznetsov": "Where Has the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations Gone?"]

[Text] There has long been talk that the Russian Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations would soon amalgamate with the Foreign Ministry. It is just that no one believed it. After all, in the future foreign economic activity is effectively going to be at the forefront of our fight for survival, so to speak. Nonetheless, no Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations is to be found in the new Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] government structure. What is its future? What is the cause of this? A ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA correspondent sought an answer from Gennadiy Filshin, acting Russian minister of foreign economic relations.

"It seems to me that this symbiosis between the Russian Foreign Ministry and our ministry is artificial.

"Russia's current foreign economic activity involves a vast amount of work, and we have, to a large extent, assumed independent responsibility for it. This amalgamation would be justified perhaps if our ministry's functions were still duplicated by the union ministry, which, incidentally, no longer exists. On the contrary, Russia now has to perform the functions of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations."

Possible 'Nuclear Exchange' With Ukraine Viewed

924P0039A Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 44, 2-9 Nov 91 p 9

[Article by Stepan Kieselyov: "Press Ministry Is Angry: 'An Advocate of War and National Strife' Speaks Out"—for item mentioned in first sentence, see Soviet Union DAILY REPORT for 31 Oct 91 p 62]

[Text] Background. MOSCOW NEWS No. 42 published my article which read: "MN's [MOSKOVSKIY NOVOSTI] reliable source says that a possibility of a nuclear exchange between the independent Ukraine and Russia was discussed in the wings of the Russian government."

The publication caused acrimonious reaction from both Russian and Ukrainian politicians. "An absurdity," "canard," "vicious nonsense," "a provocation"—such words were used by the men who are by their status obliged to think rather than condemn.

"You would do well to read fewer newspapers. You would certainly feel better," the President of the USSR is reported to have said to the Ukraine's First Vice-Premier Konstantin Masik, although the President's own experience must have taught him otherwise: he had to pay with his Crimean imprisonment for ignoring press analyses and forecasts.

For politicians, the most practical attitude to newspaper publications would be to think, not to get mad.

Warning. When it's hard to think straight, one tends to have a temper tantrum. The Russian Federation Ministry of the Press and Mass Media, interpreting my article and a later publication in the NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA as propaganda of war and national strife, issued an official warning. It was the ministry's first repressive act against newspapers, a first step to restrict freedom of the press and restore censorship. SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA which published the notorious "Appeal to the People" as an ideological prologue to the August coup, had been spared the ministry's wrath.

It is quite natural for officials to want to bridle the press, but it is up to the court of justice and investigators to ascertain the presence of corpus delicti in a newspaper article. Also, our publication was essentially a consequence, whose cause lay in actual politics. Whether the Press Ministry likes it or not, the political reality is as follows: the two Slav Republics are falling apart thanks to politicians, not newspaper reporters. Former allies, the Ukraine and Russia have become mere neighbours and adjusted their policies accordingly.

Problem. It is common knowledge in foreign policy that neighbouring states are rivals and potential enemies. Most of my compatriots feel it intuitively to be true, because according to the public opinion poll published in the same issue (No. 42), 60 per cent of respondents saw major armed conflicts between former Soviet Republics as possible. Such pessimism must stem from the fact that, following the collapse of the Union, Republics have automatically become competitors on the world market, their competition burdened with a history of mutual

grievances and hurts. In such a context, soldiers can no longer be expected to confine themselves to agricultural work alone.

Strategy. No one has ever said that former Union Republics really intend to use their armed forces for warfare. There is a world of difference between a readiness for action, and an actual intent. In a recent TV interview Gennady Burbulis, the Russian Federation Secretary of State, showed the difference graphically. "Russian has no intention of introducing customs stations to her borders," he said. "But she is prepared to do so at any moment." It is a statesman's duty to be prepared for any turn of events, and to have a plan of action for any contingency. As long as a state has an army armed with nuclear weapons, one has to be a simpleton to believe that their government has no plan of action for their use.

Therefore, the Russian Federation Press Ministry has done the Russian government a disservice by issuing a warning to the press. Unless the government of a nuclear power has a well-thought-out nuclear strategy for all possible contingencies, it can be considered negligent.

Solution. The only alternative to an armed conflict between former allies is an economic union. The pact signed recently by the leaders of the Republics has to do with more than the economy. It has to do with security. My article that angered the Press Ministry so, was prompted by my concern for security, not war propaganda.

Fund Director on Problems in Gold Industry

LD2611150791 Moscow TASS in English 1135 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow November 26 TASS—In an article headlined "A Gold-Selling Fever," published in today's ROSSISKAYA GAZETA, Vitaliy Mezrin, general director of the republican industrial innovations fund, describes the situation that has developed on the gold market of Russia.

"A paradox is manifest: The state, or structures which it allows to engage in financial operations, pursues a policy that is detrimental to its own monetary system. Not a single country in the world has a difference between the gold price and the commercial rate, whereas in this country the difference is two-fold," Mezrin points out.

He gives the following examples: This year, just as last year, the State Bank of the USSR (Gosbank) sold more than 220 tonnes of gold in Switzerland and Britain through Western banks at a price of 202 dollars per ounce at a time when the world market price is 367 dollars. The country, as a result, has lost a huge sum—more than one billion dollars.

A similar state of affairs also exists in the sale of diamonds abroad. Last year the Soviet Union sold 990 million dollars worth of diamonds through the South African De Beers Corporation (at an average price of 90 dollars per carat).

At the same time independent exporters sold diamonds of the same quality as follows: Angola at 187 dollars per carat, Sierra Leone at 208, and Guinea at 300 dollars per carat.

The author of the article sees a way out of the situation in selling gold and diamonds through specially established companies and firms and only in the form of wares. He suggests setting up Russian parliamentary bodies to monitor gold and currency operations both inside and outside the country.

'Republican Humanitarian Party' Founded

LD2611180291 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1300 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Text] A new political organization, the Republican Humanitarian Party [Respublikanskaya Gumanitarnaya Partiya], was founded in Moscow today. It is a parliamentary-style party, which declares as its ideological foundation the primacy of common human values. The constituent assembly adopted the party's manifesto and provisional charter. Its policy council was elected.

The party advocates efficacious measures to overcome the growing atmosphere of conflict, the chaos concerning rights, and social injustice, and is in favor of treating as a priority the problems of refugees, servicemen, and the less fortunate strata of the population.

Participants in the assembly spoke in favor of cooperation with other political parties and mass movement in tackling these tasks.

[Moscow TASS International Service in Russian at 1305 GMT on 26 November transmits a similar item adding that "Yuriy Bokan, Ph.D. who is also the president of the all-union public association 'For the social ecology of mankind through mass creativity,' was made chairman of the party."]

Abolition of Union Finance Ministry Viewed

PM2711111991 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 26 Nov 91 First Edition p 1

[Sergey Panasenko article under the "Commentary" rubric: "No More Union Finance Ministry, So Talks Can Begin"]

[Text] Now that it has abolished the Union Ministry of Finances the Russian Government will be able to conduct talks on the financial situation on the territory of the former with the contiguous sovereign states from new and, it is to be expected, tougher positions.

Not just the administrative structures but also—which is far more important in this case—the capacity to print money have been placed under Russia's jurisdiction.

Undoubtedly the next logical step will either be to completely abolish the USSR State Bank as such or, at the very least, to strip it of its functions as a bank of issue. The result will be that de facto, of all the former USSR republics, Russia will be the first to have its own currency, fulfilling in addition the role of the means of payment in neighboring states.

The advantages of this for Russia are obvious and indisputable, but this step is hardly prompting a flood of enthusiasm from its neighbors, particularly those who are still a long way from realizing the idea of introducing their own money. By setting the bank discount rate for credit and regulating ruble emissions and by combining this with the long promised system for marking rubles according to the region of issue, Russia can theoretically either inundate them with worthless, inflationary notes, or when necessary "drain off" any quantity of money from their territory for its own needs.

Of course, the Russian Ministry of the Economy and Finances will honor earlier commitments of the State Production Association Main Administration for the Production of State Bank Notes, Coins, and Medals to the sovereign republics, but the deadlines on any commitments expire eventually. Obviously, it is then that the most interesting phase will begin. Judging by the speed with which the new Russian Government is acting, we will not have to wait too long for this.

Local Affairs

Antonov-24 Plane Crashes in Tartar Republic

LD2611095191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0938 GMT 26 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Nikolay Sorokin]

[Text] Bugulma (Tatar Soviet Socialist Republic, Volga Region), 26 Nov (TASS)—An Antonov-24 aircraft flying from Nizhnevartovsk to Bugulma crashed this morning at 0504 while attempting to land at Bugulma airport. The 33 passengers and four crew members aboard were killed.

A government commission has been set up to investigate the cause of the accident.

Gorbachev Sends Condolences

LD2611134391 Moscow TASS in English 1330 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow November 26 TASS—President Mikhail Gorbachev has expressed deep condolences to the relatives and next-of-kin of the latest air crash victims. The accident, involving an AN-24 airliner, occurred in the area of the city of Bugulma, Tataria, on the Volga.

As has already been reported, the AN-24 plane, which was on a Nizhnevartovsk-Bugulma flight, crashed when landing at the airport of that city today. Thirty-three passengers and four crew members who were on board died in the crash.

Tatarstan To Sign Union Treaty 'on Its Own'

OW2611213491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2031 GMT 26 GMT 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Tatar Republic (of the Russian Federation) wants to sign the Union Treaty on its own, though it was not represented in Novo-Ogaryovo to discuss the draft. The Tatar President Mintimer Shaymiyev said so on Tuesday [25 November] in an exclusive interview with INTERFAX.

He said the status of the republic will soon be put to a referendum to make the State Council and the USSR and RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] parliaments reckon with the will of the people. Pending the referendum, said M. Shaymiyev, the republic is conducting talks with Russia on a number of economic questions. For that a Tatar delegation has been sent to Moscow led by the Tatar Premier Muhammad Sabirov.

To a question concerning a possibility of Tatarstan proclaiming its independence M. Shaymiyev replied "all depended on the wording the republic's Supreme Soviet would give to the question for the referendum." But in any case, he concluded, Tatarstan is to have a comprehensive treaty with the RSFSR.

Kazan Rally Wants Tatar President's Resignation

LD2511120391 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1000 GMT 25 Nov 91

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] A rally took place in Kazan yesterday, according to a report from the POSTFACTUM News Agency, demanding the resignation of President of Tatarstan Shaymiyev. The main slogans were: No to Treaties Strengthening Tatarstan's Dependence on Russia; and Shaymiyev, Follow Dudayev's Example. According to POSTFACTUM's report, approximately 400 people were present at the rally.

Chepetsk Nuclear Plant To Produce Jewelry

LD2611141991 Moscow TASS in English 1323 GMT 26 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Alfred Artamonov]

[Text] Izhevsk November 26 TASS—The Chepetsk mechanical works in the Urals switched from producing equipment for nuclear power stations to zirkonium jewellery.

As nuclear power plant construction has been frozen in the USSR, the plant administration decided to use the remaining zirkonium for jewellery. The precious metal value is close to that of gold, platinum and silver.

Zirkonium jewellery sells fast. Italian companies bought the whole batch of it offered by the factory at a fair. A contract for cooperation has been signed with an Italian company.

The prices are skyrocketing. A set, including a bracelet, earrings and rings, which used to cost 50-60 rubles, is now sold for 90-130 rubles.

Further Reportage on Chechen-Ingush Situation

Parliament Approves Draft Law

LD2611194691 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1500 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Text] It looks as if the days of Soviets on the territory of the Chechen Republic, and therefore the days of Soviet power, are numbered. The republican parliament approved as a basis for further discussions and published today a draft law on local self-government. If the document is adopted in this form, all representative power in localities will be transferred from former soviets of people's deputies to assemblies which will be elected on the same principles for three years. The latter will form executive bodies: managers and boards [upraviteli and upravy]. At the same time, only rural assemblies will be elected by direct ballot. It looks as if the published draft law is, for the time being, the only fundamental one out of 40 documents adopted by the parliament of the Chechen Republic.

'Threat' to Republic From Within

PM2211145991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Nov 91 p 2

["Trouble Spot" report by correspondent A. Grachev: "Sweet Though the Word 'Freedom' Is"]

[Text] Groznyy—The euphoria over the victory of the Chechen revolution, as they call the recents events here, has not yet died down; although you would not envy the people of Groznyy, rather you would feel for them. President Dzhakhar Dudayev is having a particularly difficult time at the moment; it is incredible how he manages to sleep. Indeed, nearly the entire republic administrative structure has to be built, because the old one has been destroyed. Until yesterday the former Council of Ministers existed, but it too now has to be formed anew, since Chairman S. Bekov and his team asked to resign, feeling they were unable to operate in the new situation.

The situation demanded the creation of new power structures, such as a military ministry, a national security service, an investigation committee, a committee for the operational management of the republic economy, and so on. But the president and the newly elected parliament do not yet have experience of these matters, so each day they are having to work until two or three in the morning.

The Chechen Republic, which upheld the right to free development, is trying desperately—without betraying the fact that it is finding it very hard—to escape from the chaos it has unexpectedly found itself in. Yesterday, therefore, the president signed a decree in order to stabilize somehow an economy which is in disarray. For it is precisely because of the unstable situation that contract freight deliveries have ceased, yet the president and parliament see this as an economic blockade by Russia. Incidentally, Chechnya is getting some products from Turkey at the moment, which are being sent as a mark of solidarity. However, the lines outside Groznyy's stores are lengthening daily. Preoccupied with politics as they are, people here have forgotten about the daily bread—much to the dislike of the working people.

Martial law has not been lifted yet. Some 28,000 troops have registered in the Chechen Division, and around 300,000 in the home guard. Unfortunately, unscrupulous people and criminal elements are exploiting the martial law regime by trying to benefit from it. Addressing yesterday's parliamentary session, Defense Committee Chairman Lieutenant Colonel I. Suleymanov said:

"The threat to the republic is not from without but from within. In this situation the population has split into clans and tribes, there are those who are dreaming of revenge, and there are many weapons around. Urgent measures are needed... The executive authority is doing practically nothing..."

Weapons have begun to be registered. But they are not under unified control. They were issued in a hurry. Sometimes only the surname was recorded, so it will be difficult to sort things out. Moreover, the citizens are worried because escapees from the Naurskaya Jail are still at large. I was told, though, that 105 people returned yesterday. But there are still 425 in the city, and it is hard to believe that they are punctually turning up for registration every day. In short, the situation is uneasy, particularly at night.

There are some other things getting in the way of creative labor. For example, yesterday the local press published a parliamentary statement. It is worth citing a few lines from it: "Russia does not wish to recognize the legally elected president and parliament of the Chechen Republic, pretending that various groupings of the former partocracy are the 'legitimate' authority and the 'influential' political organizations. In these conditions we find we are unable to discuss any questions with the Russian Supreme Soviet delegation."

Well, you cannot say the people of the Caucasus are not proud. But one would hope that when the republic has extricated itself from the very difficult situation, common sense will prevail over all else. Sweet though the

world "freedom" is, people want to eat, to sleep peacefully, to work and study, raise children, and view the future with confidence. This is the president and parliament's paramount concern.

Martial Law Extended 'Indefinitely'

PM2511094391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Nov 91 Union Edition p 1

[Untitled report from IZVESTIYA, TASS, RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY, INTERFAX, and AFP column]

[Text] The Chechen parliament has extended martial law in the republic indefinitely.

Gadayev, member of parliament, said that this was decided due to the unstable situation and the increase in crime.

Protesters Demand Return of Lands

OW2211174591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1407 GMT 22 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A rally by the Ingush people continued November 21 in Nazran (the Chechen-Ingush Republic) in the square before the district council building. The demonstrators demanded a return of the Ingush lands included now in Northern Ossetia. The strength of the rally was estimated by the militia as approximately 11,000.

The Ingush people want back the Prigorod District in Northern Ossetia and the right bank part of Vladicaucas from where they were deported in 1944. Northern Ossetia is against parting with those lands.

Dudayev Comments on Supplies

LD2311182591 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1630 GMT 22 Nov 91

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] According to reports from Checheno-Ingushetia, President Dudayev has addressed a letter to the Union of Defense, Sports, and Technical Organizations of the USSR. Dudayev has expressed concern that the services of the North Caucasus Military District have ceased deliveries of equipment, spare parts, and other resources to the former Voluntary Society for Collaboration with the Army, Air Force, and Navy members of Checheno-Ingushetia. Dudayev stated in the letter that all the questions concerning the presence of the Soviet Army on the republic's territory will be resolved with the USSR Ministry of Defense bearing in mind the contractual obligations and with the firm guarantees of the parties.

'Hooligans' Storm Battalion

PM2611143591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Nov 91 Union Edition p 12

[Correspondent V. But report: "How the Militia was 'Disarmed' in Groznyy"]

[Text] Rostov-on-Don—The USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] Internal Troops regiment has remained in Groznyy, but an Internal Troops Militia battalion has been withdrawn from there. How did this happen?

Kosolapov, chief of staff of the USSR MVD Internal Troops Administration for the Northern Caucasus and the Transcaucasus, described this on Rostov Television.

[Kosolapov] At 0230 hours the battalion was stormed by armed civilian hooligans. Attempts to force them to leave proved futile. Due to the total blockade, it proved impossible to bring in the regiment, which was a great distance away, to help. All attempts to communicate with President Dudayev and with the republic's MVD and national security leadership proved unsuccessful.

We realized: Just one shot would be enough to start a massacre and for the whole personnel to be annihilated—there were 130 of us left there. So I gave the order for weapons not to be used, although we were provoked into defending ourselves with clubs, spades, and whatever we could get our hands on.

There was uninterrupted hand-to-hand fighting all night! By 1000 the barracks were destroyed. The door into the storeroom was broken down and the weapons were looted. None of our men were killed, but a great many people were beaten up: over 70. The men were saved by bulletproof vests, but some were wounded. In the face of this I gave the order to line up. We took the wounded and marched back to the regiment.

After the battalion withdrew, things were crazy in the place we had left. Military hardware, weapons, and property belonging to the personnel were seized. This was real looting! The people who broke in there were grabbing weapons and personal effects from each other's hands—it was a horrible sight; people were behaving like bandits.

After that, we had a meeting with Dudayev. In the presence of our officers, the leaders of this "operation" reported to him with delight about the way they had "disarmed" our battalion, and 24 hours later Central Television announced: "An Internal Troops Militia battalion was disarmed by unknown persons in Groznyy." That is a good one, disarmed!

The battalion was withdrawn to Pyatigorsk. We will bring it back to strength. Now, alas, threats are being made against the regiment, demands are being made to put down weapons, etc. Of course we are taking measures. We will prevent such "disarmament."

Groznyy Rally Gives Demands

LD2511160891 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1200 GMT 25 Nov 91

[Text] There were a lot of people on Freedom Square in the capital of Checheno-Ingushetia, Groznyy, last weekend. The Chechens who gathered there demanded amnesty for all convicts who had escaped from corrective labor colonies and investigation centers and called for more acceptable conditions for all convicts in all places of imprisonment. Demonstrations continued over the weekend in the town of Nazran, the center of the Ingush population of the republic, in support of the rights of the Ingush people on the right bank sector of Vladikavkaz and the Progorodnyy area of North Ossetia. As is known, in 1944 tens of thousands of Ingush families were expelled from here and the territory handed over to the Ossetians.

At a session of the Nazran rayon soviet on 24 November, its chairman resigned. On 22 November, in the village of Mayskoye in the Prigorodnyy Rayon of North Ossetia, a group of armed Ingushes seized a private Ikarus bus with four Ossetian passengers and two armed militiamen on board. They were heading for (?Izhevsk) to the local weapons factory to obtain hunting weapons. Those seized were taken to the territory of Ingushetia, to Nazran, and detained at the headquarters of the (?Nizkho) organization, which in Russian translation means justics [spravedlivost].

During the talks held this weekend between representatives of the Ingush and the Ossetians, the captives were released. One of the militiamen, who put up resistance during the attack, has been sent to Nazran town hospital with fractures.

Report of Troops at Border 'False'

LD2611201491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1949 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow, 26 Nov (TASS)—The Russian Federation Supreme Soviet press center today refuted rumors that formations of troops were being concentrated along the frontiers of the Chechen-Ingush Republic. As TASS has learned, this report "is false and there is no basis for it." According to reports spread over the past few days by some of the mass media, about five divisions of troops have been concentrated in the region of the Chechen-Ingush Republic's border.

Assembly Extends Dudayev's Powers

LD2711054191 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0400 GMT 27 Nov 91

[Text] The soviets in the territory of the Chechen Republic are evidently living out their final days. In keeping with the draft law on local government, assemblies will take the place of soviets in the republic. The parliament has extended the term of emergency powers for President Dudayev.

Dudayev Announces Call-Up

LD2711140991 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1200 GMT 27 Nov 91

[Text] Late at night on 26 November, Dzhakhar Dudayev, the president of the Chechen Republic, spoke on local television. He said that the call-up to the army of young people will be announced in the republic today. The president noted that this is being done to protect the republic in the face of danger which, in his words, comes from the Russian leadership. Our correspondent Vyacheslav Osipov has reported by telephone:

[Begin Osipov recording] Although martial law has been abolished in Checheno-Ingushetia, the speech by President Dzhakhar Dudayev can be assessed in no other way but as preparation for military actions. What are the motives of the leader of Checheno-Ingushetia? First, General Dudayev thinks that the Russian leadership has abolished the decree on an emergency situation only on paper. In reality, an intensive deployment of troops around the republic is currently taking place. General Dudayev noted that the republic will take its own steps if troops are to be introduced on its territory. He said that the entire combat equipment will be transferred to the republican jurisdiction. The call-up of young people starts on 27 November. They will serve on the territory of the Chechen Republic. President Dzhakhar Dudayev assessed the resolution of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Council of Ministers on customs tariffs as an attempt to impose an economic blockade. He said that measures will be taken in response to this. He will state them in his presidential decree. Dudayev named the wage increase to medical workers, teachers, and invalids as one of the economic measures aimed at improving the life of the republican population. Prices for bread and other vital goods are to be cut or frozen, as well. Control over prices is to be introduced, he said. It has become known that there is no cash in the Savings Bank of the Chechen Republic to pay out pensions. The Central Bank of Russia is to blame for this, in the words of a number of officials, since it fails to send necessary cash.

Touching on some criminal acts which have recently taken place in Groznyy and other areas of the republics, Dudayev described them as provocations of the first order which were organized and carried out by the republican KGB which was disbanded and Party structures. Special Purpose Detachments are to be set up to put an end to the acts of terror and provocation. Weapons will help the Chechen people to preserve their honor and dignity. [end recording]

Dudayev Interviewed on Russian Ties, Events

JN2311190191 Abu Dhabi AL-ITTIHAD AL-USBU'I in Arabic 21 Nov 91 p 17

[Interview with Chechen-Ingush President Dzhakhar Dudayev by Ahmad al-Khumaysi in Groznyy; date not given—first three paragraphs are introduction]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The streets around the presidency were full of soldiers, armed men, and vehicles. In the president's office, the secretary, Marian, asked me to wait for a while, apologizing that an urgent meeting of the National Defense Council was taking place. While I was waiting, the telephone rang. Marian answered, and then looked at a young guard saying: Tell the president that Georgian President Gamsakhurdia wants to speak with him.

Dzhakhar Dudayev, a thin and tired man, came out of his office in a volunteer's uniform. He picked up the telephone, but spoke not a word; he only shook his head approvingly at what Gamsakhurdia was saying. In Groznyy, I realized why Georgia, a Christain republic, supports the struggle of revolutionary Muslim Dzhakhar Dudayev. The Chechen Republic and Dzhakhar Dudayev supported the struggle of Ingush to restore southern Ossetia, while Georgia, for its part, claimed north Ossetia. An alliance among the Georgians, the Chechens, and the Ingush will certainly subject Ossetia to an attack from the two sides.

Dudayev stood up and shook hands with me, apologizing for the delay. He invited me inside. I asked him: You are the first elected president of the Chechen people and their independent republic. Would you like to tell us something about your history?

[Dudayev] Yes, I have become the first president in the history of the Caucasus since the Soviet authorities toppled our government and state by force in 1921. The head of our government then was Tabay Chermoyev; the legitimate government was forced to live in exile. Since then, there have been no legitimate elections here, and we had no chance to regain our state. But now, we have a chance, and we have not hesitated to wrest our freedom and independence.

[Al-Khumaysi] Yeltsin has abolished the state of emergency in Groznyy. What do you demand now?

[Dudayev] The state of emergency has not really been cancelled. The Russian parliament ignored the sharp angle of the crisis and created a new one of confrontation on unacceptable political grounds. The Russian parliament gave itself the right to hold negotiations and talks with the political and social forces only, ignoring the legitimate authority here. Moreover, the Russian parliament has not specified the sides with which it will enter into talks.

Second, under the pretext of halting the leakage of weapons into our country, the Russian parliament will practically besiege us militarily. It will deliberately engage in military provocations on the border and other provocations inside our country through the Russian-affiliated forces that remained inside the republic, represented by the intelligence services, the Interior Ministry, the general prosecutor, and other administrative services, as well as terrorist groups that they brought to the republic. Here is another point: The Russian Supreme Soviet's resolution provides for punishing those who technically and politically made the emergency decision in Groznyy. Undoubtedly, this indicates that the parliament regrets the Yeltsin forces' failure to perform their mission, not the fact that an essentially wrong political decision was made. They regret that the Russian military invasion of our country did not cause bloodshed! These ambitions of the Russian empire can never make us feel safe. We are well aware of Russian tactics, and we are ready to face all possibilities.

[Al-Khumaysi] Yeltsin dispatched his forces to your country, but these forces returned. At least this is what the Moscow press says. So, where do the possibilities for confrontation come from?

[Dudayev] These forces did not return as simply as you imagine. We expected their arrival and were ready to meet them. Therefore, the Yeltsin forces did not "return" of their own accord, as you think. We could have turned these forces into heaps of corpses in half an hour. But we did not do that. Our revolution broke out and continued for three months without bloodshed. However, Russia does not want the revolution to continue peacefully. To this end, Yeltsin is willing to shed the blood of his sons and ours. They care only about achieving their ends.

[Al-Khumaysi] Mr. President, why do many people here think the August coup was a turning point in your movement and that the coup precipitated the revolution?

[Dudayev] This is because the coup leaders had planned to entirely annihilate our people. Immediately after the coup, they dispatched some 500 large personnel carriers to our country, and their forces at airports and other facilities were put on the alert. This was a replica of the 1944 scenario. On 23 February 1944, Stalin dispatched large personnel carriers and laid siege to airports. Then they started shipping people in trucks. They also forced half a million from Chechen and Ingush to flee the country and made them travel under harsh circumstances to Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan; more than two-thirds of them died during that hard journey. After the August coup, we saw personnel carriers once again and there was a state of alert at airports and main roads. We realized that torture was again awaiting us. We came to realize a more important fact; namely, that we would not be secure as long as we are subservient to Russia. This is because any Stalinist dictator might take power in Russia and repeat what happened. We realized that the only way to protect ourselves was independence. Old people who witnessed the 1944 tragedy were the ones who cautioned us about what was happening during the coup. They rushed to see me saying: Dudayev, it is the 1944 scenario again. After that, we issued a declaration of sovereignty which was endorsed by the General National Congress and its Executive Committee. We also announced our program and resolutions. When we did that, we knew that communist rule here and coupists are a power thatr would not have mercy on us. We also realized that we had to remove that tyranny.

[Al-Khumaysi] Historically, it is known that the Chechen and Ingush are two similar nationalities bound by Islam. Why was your republic proclaimed on the land of Chechen alone?

[Dudayev] Russia stands as a barrier between us and it is trying to separate us by all means. The Chechen General National Congress proclaimed the independence of its republic on its land because the Ingush were not yet ready for this step. Also, the Ingush people decided to stay within Russia. So, should we stay under Russian captivity simply because the Ingush decided to remain in captivity? We had no choice but to declare our independence in the hope that after overcoming the current crisis with Russia we will once again establish our joint republic which includes the Chechen and Ingush.

[Al-Khumaysi] Mr. President, upon assuming your duties, you swore upon the Koran to do all you could to work toward the realization of the aspirations of the people. You became president in the name of God and the people. Was that an indication of your Islamic credentials, or should it be read as a sign that the republic is to become a Muslim state?

[Dudayev] First and foremost, this means I am a Muslim who believes in one God. Second, taking the oath on the Koran is more binding on me than any secular constitution. We had a constitution, but it failed to protect us or advance our rights. Therefore, I gave my oath to the nation on the Koran that I will be faithful to my declared aims for which the revolution was launched. That is binding on me before God and the people. One is bound by the constitution only before the people, which is why I preferred the Koran.

[Al-Khumaysi] But does that not point to an Islamic orientation of the government?

[Dudayev] We are not yet prepared for such a move. We are still suffering from the dire effects of 70 years of witch-hunts against Muslims and religion. Each of us kept his faith alive in his heart. People began by closing ranks. The declaration of an Islamic state calls for preparations so that people will air their views on the sound Islamic principles of the Koran, advocating harmony and unity. When we get to that stage, it will be up to the people to decide what they want. For the time being, we have to build a constitutional, democratic government inspired by the shar'ia and the constitution.

[Al-Khumaysi] It has been said by some newspapers in Moscow that you came to power with the help of the Islamic Way Party. Is that true?

[Dudayev] My program received support from all parties and organizations active in the political arena here—the Democratic Party, the Islamic Way Party, the Islamic Revival Party, the Greens Movement, and the Human Rights Defense Committee. I did not come to power supported by just one party. The Islamic Way Party said that if democratic presidential elections would be held, it would disband. But the Russian leaders would not agree to democratic elections in the Chechen-Ingush region, whereupon the Islamic Way Party and the Islamic Revival Party joined another faction of the Islamic Brotherhood in reaction to Russian provocations; the other parties switched to the nationalist revolution—the revolution now spreading throughout the northern Caucasian region.

[Al-Khumaysi] How do you explain your membership in the Communist Party since 1968, and your taking the oath of office on the Koran when you assumed power over a Muslim people?

[Dudayev] For a start, it was not possible for anyone in the Soviet society to work and earn a livelihood without being a party member. All of us were party members. Party membership was a mere passport to work and livelihood. We used to bribe our way into party membership by paying as much as 5,000 rubles. In no way did this mean that we subscribed to the ideology of the party. It was a virtual coercion in a state and government known to everyone.

[Al-Khumaysi] On 9 November, the work of the North Caucasian Peoples' Congress was concluded. For your part, you previously declared that the aspirations of all Caucasian peoples are of concern to you. Do you aspire to lead only the Chechen people, or to lead the struggle of all Muslim Caucasian peoples? Furthermore, do you seek to unify these peoples under a confederation?

[Dudayev] The prime objective contained in my declared platform is to unify north Caucasian peoples in a confederation on the basis of equal rights and equal political and national representation as well, and also on the basis of resolving Caucasian problems within the Caucasus, without seeking the assistance of any external party. We are capable of resolving our problems ourselves without the intervention of Russia and the USSR, which have caused our countries to suffer catastrophes that need many long years of healing to reverse.

[Al-Khumaysi] Right now, at this critical point in time, would you identify the parties supporting you, as well as those opposing you?

[Dudayev] The Russian leadership is my archantagonist. It is the party which is launching campaigns against my political and national platform. It is willing to pay a lot of money for killing me, for beheading me. The Russian leaders have made many such attempts. They sent terrorist groups that were small in number to Groznyy for this purpose. They sentenced me to death. They also offered some people money to kill me. Lately, the Russian leaders have ordered my arrest. They are denying this. Yet, I have a copy of my arrest warrant.

[Al-Khumaysi] How do you view the problems of the Arab world and the Middle East conflict? Similarly, what is your comment on the statement made by a deputy to Yeltsin to the effect that Israeli security is part of Russian security?

[Dudayev] I view these problems within the context of the international situation and current changes. The wide gap, which used to exist for a long time between the USSR and the West, and which used to render relations with the West fraught with political tension, no longer exists. Right now, the religious factor is the root cause of conflicts. The pivot of conflicts is now based on religious grounds. With regard to the positions of Russia and the West on this issue, it is a serious indicator.

[Al-Khumaysi] What is your economic program to salvage the republic's economic situation?

[Dudayev] We will move to a market economy. We have formed two committees and two councils affiliated with the presidential office to tackle this issue: The Council of Ministers and the Council of Free Enterprises. The first council is designed to retain what is good in the public sector. However, this attempt will be conducted in a climate of competition with the Council of Free Enterprises. I do not think that the Council of Ministers will manage to continue to operate in the context of a free market economy. The public sector equipment have become outdated and good for nothing. Nonetheless, I think that we have to effect a gradual privatization campaign. We will attempt to attract foreign capital, but with caution, so that it does not swallow us. We have immense natural resources that we export to more than 100 nations of the world. Our country is rich indeed. We have oil. Our land is fertile. We also have mineral waters. We have strong hopes, God willing, that we will overcome the current difficulties. I would like to seize this opportunity to express to your people and country, the United Arab Emirates, our people's best wishes for success, progress, and prosperity. I left the presidential office thinking of the experience of this country, of its revolution, of its aspirations, and of the faces of the people I have met as well as those of the people I have not met—the people who are bearing arms in the mountains, deriving inspiration from the great rebel leader Shamil.

Further on Dudayev's Views

PM2711111391 London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 25 Nov 91 p 6

[Unattributed interview with Chechen-Ingush President General Dzhakhar Dudayev in Groznyy; date not given]

[Text] [AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] As a prominent figure on the Soviet political scene, what is your assessment of the present situation in your republic and what is happening around it, and how do you see its future and your own future, especially as it seems that the Union Treaty will be signed, and it will most likely not include recognition of the autonomous republic's right to have a legal status equal to that of the other members of the confederation? In that case you, of course, will find yourself facing all the republics that will join the Union, that is the Union of the Sovereign States, not only Russia, which is refusing to recognize the legitimacy of the changes taking place in the Chechen-Ingush Republic under your leadership.

[Dudayev] Whether they like it or not, they will be forced to recognize all the republics on a confederal basis. They have no option, and the Union will be reformed with a different character. Why are some republics still refusing to sign the Union Treaty? Because they feel that there is an attempt to burden them with debts though they do not know where the debts came from or who obtained them. These sums are not allocated according to contribution and profit ratios, nor do they take account of many other factors.

The federal republics are unable to pay because hard currency went to the central state's banks, and the republics obtained nothing when all the wealth was distributed. The military-industrial complex transferred hundreds of billions [unit not specified] abroad, and the Communist Party transferred even more. They now want the republics to shoulder the responsibility for what these organs perpetrated.

We naturally see the republic refusing to sign such a document. We must handle this problem in a completely different way. First, each people must be given the opportunity to make their own choice. At then we would see these peoples rushing to join the confederation. Instead of Russia fighting its own shadow, it is better for it to get down to organizing itself internally and resolving the economic and social problems, giving the other peoples the chance to enjoy the right to choose. By doing that Russia would be able to become the focus of attention, especially from the states that can immediately invest huge sums of money, and then Russia would become a trusted partner and there would be stability there.

Russian President Boris Yeltsin announced: Take as much independence as you can. Everything was quiet and no one sought to abandon Russia. Everyone knew about the existence of the state leader's announcement, and everyone started to organize matters and to make and strengthen mutual economic contacts as long as political freedoms were guaranteed, but then the Third Congress of People's Deputies in Russia put forward the slogan "Russia is one and cannot be divided," and all the republics were named Russia. I here will allow myself to say that Checheno has never been Russian. God has granted it to us, just as he gave us life, nature, and the earth, and there is no room here for argument. They made an adventurist decision to call everything Russia. Not only did that action strike terror into everyone's hearts, it also aroused hatred in everyone's hearts. People did not want the name of their land to be changed. Of course, we will initially steer a course toward separation from Russia while retaining our right to join the Union later in a decent way that brings respect for us. The treaty should be signed, and economic ties should not be severed. They should be developed later on

the basis of mutual respect. Such a Union would be strong; anything else would be fragile.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] Events in the Chechen-Ingush Republic made you the leader of not only your republic but of the Caucasus region as a whole. Forces were unified and the Federation of Caucasus Mountain Peoples was formed, but according to recent reports, the unity does not seem to be strong, as conflicts have emerged between the Ingush and the Ossetians. Georgia, which has supported you since your early days in power, is now worried about South Ossetia's aspiration to sovereignty. There is also talk of disagreements between the Chechen and the Ingush. So how do you expect events to develop in the region?

[Dudayev] The problem you mention has existed for a long time, but the present situation in the Caucasus has led people to unite in solidarity. So if there were some disagreements between the Dagestanis and the Akinsiyyin [as transliterated] Chechen, they were settled immediately on a strong treaty basis. The other problems are being resolved. The problems between South Ossetia and Georgia existed before the sovereignty statement, and a war has broken out between them. The same goes for Nagorno-Karabakh, and the disagreements between Ossetia and the Ingush since these territories were seized from the Ingush. In the seventies the Ingush people launched a widespread campaign of protest, and that movement has been continued under current conditions. Thus we see that these problems still exist, and we will try ourselves to find solutions to them on a completely new basis. Instead of seeing armed confrontations, disasters, grief, and loss of life, we would like to settle these disputes peacefully.

This is our aim, and the world has seen that. Why does our movement enjoy such widespread interest? Because it displays a very new nature. When the Chechen are mentioned, arms are the first thing that tends to come to many people's minds, but we Chechens have learned during our struggle, which has continued for hundreds of years, to arm ourselves also with international law, local law, and democracy so as not encroach on the interests of any citizens, regardless of their nationality, religious affiliation, or political beliefs. We completely favor purely political struggle. After we study the situation we take the necessary measures to confront terrorist actions and activities violating the law. We are proceeding along our own path, by civilized means. During the numerous ethnic conflicts that have occurred recently on the Soviet Union's territory no one in Central Asia or the Baltic managed to avoid bloodsheld, but our movement was able to avoid bloodshed. I say this in the knowledge that, objectively, our republic was expected to be a center for bloodshed and an arena of the most violent of conflicts. Some people expected us to move in that direction, but we rejected that road.

We are certain that all the problems of the Caucasus can be easily settled. In Ingushetia the Ingush have many delusions; people cannot defend their programs and aims or set one aim and proceed toward it. They have not learned yet. They have not got the tactics, strategy, or deep vision, and they also lack flexibility in responding to the changes that occur in the situation. They cling to the sayings of this or that leader and regard them as the basis. This is the catastrophe. People must be taught. The situation in Ingushetia is clear to me, and I am confident that all these problems can be resolved legally and without bloodshed.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] You are a general in the Soviet Army and you were for many years a member of the Soviet Communist Party. You used the glorious Koran when you were sworn in following your election president of the republic. Was that a political game or did you change your views? Generally, how do you view Islam's role in the national independence movements spreading today in all the "Islamic republics" which were members of the former Soviet Union? How strong are the positions of "Muslim fundamentalists" in that movement? How do you assess speculation about the possibility of an Islamic state being established in your regions?

[Dudayev] Regarding my membership of the Soviet Communist Party and my rank as a general in the Army, I can confirm that I performed my military duty honorably and have never violated the military oath. No one can accuse me of trampling on my conscience or of failing to devote all my energy to my duty as an officer or general. As for my membership of the party, I say that that was the reality of the state's politics. Regarding my swearing an oath on the Koran, I cannot imagine myself swearing an oath on the constitution, whether federal or Russian. I do not believe that swearing an oath on the constitution would make me as aware of my duty toward the the high responsibility incumbent on me as swearing an oath on the Koran. Besides, the majority of the inhabitants of our republic are believers, and I shouldered a huge responsibility when I swore the oath on the Koran. Now all I can think about is the fate of my people, their interests, and the interests of the state, and I have committed myself to using all my energy, but without committing mistakes. Swearing the oath on the Koran compels me to serve my people right to the end. As for the strength of Islamic fundamentalism in our region, I say that it is strong enough. You know that religion, especially Islam, was forbidden for 75 years. People kept their faith in their minds and hearts and linked their destiny with the God in whom they believed. Religious studies were forbidden in our region, but when freedom of worship was granted, most of the official religious organizations fell under the influence of the security organs, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the Communist Party. These organizations have even become distorted subordinates of these organs. Naturally they cannot embody the interests of the true religion and the true faith. So we have decided to set up the religious institute in order to rid ourselves of the old religious mechanism imposed on us by the official authorities in the past. Under such conditions it is natural for many

people to favor the fundamentalist tendency, on the grounds that it is independent and has not sullied itself by cooperating with the authorities.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] Throughout the Islamic world as a whole people are following with special interest the development of events in your republic and the Caucasus region. Do you plan to establish special relations with the Arab countries, especially the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia? What would you like to achieve through such cooperation?

[Dudayev] Of course, we have the utmost interest in developing relations with the Arab countries, as we have much in common, first and foremost the one faith.

Today our republic is suffering from a very difficult situation, both politically and economically, and we will welcome any formula of cooperation. Please do not misunderstand me: The present situation in our republic means that the initiative for cooperation must come from the Arab side.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] In one of his speeches Russian Vice President Rutskoy said that a consignment of Israeli "Uzi" machine guns had arrived in your republic. Do you have relations with Israel?

[Dudayev] We have "Uzi" machine guns and many other weapons from various countries, but this does not mean that we cooperate with these countries. We have had no links with Israel. Anyway, our arms are not bad, and we lack nothing except air defense systems. Since we have not secured these systems on a sufficient scale, we have prepared a special group of young pilots, each of whom is prepared to sacrifice his life and carry out suicide sorties against the enemy's air force [tayaran]. We have decided that it is better to sacrifice 10 people than to be faced with the death of all the people.

Deputy Interviewed on Russians' Migration

PM2511165191 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Nov 91 First Edition p 1

[Interview with Major General Aslanbek Aslakhanov by Pavel Anokhin; place and date not given: "Heeding the Voice of Reason"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] I first got to know RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] People's Deputy Major General Aslanbek Aslakhanov, chairman of the Committee for Questions of Legality, Law and Order, and the Fight Against Crime, in Groznyy during the alarming days of the open-ended August-September rally and popular uprising. People respectfully called him "our general" and invariably added that he was on the people's side.

[Anokhin] Aslanbek Akhmedovich, reports have been appearing in the mass media claiming that the Russian-speaking population has started to leave Chechen-Ingushetia.

[Aslakhanov] Unfortunately, this is no "claim." It is really the case, but to the credit of the present Groznyy authorities, the republic is taking every measure to ensure their personal safety and that of their property. There have been joint patrols, addresses on television.

The people themselves, frankly speaking, the Veinakhs [general term for the Chechens and Ingush] are more afraid than anyone about any provocations against the Russians. Everyone is perfectly well aware that the migration of the Russian-speaking population out of Checheno-Ingushetia is a major disaster for the republic. After all, the people leaving are primarily specialists and the intelligentsia—and nobody has a vested interest in seeing this happen except "speculators" buying up houses and property. For the most part, the people—the elderly and the clergy—are asking the Russians to stay and are pledging to observe their ethnic rights and respect their faith.

[Anokhin] What then is making them leave their established homes?

[Aslakhanov] The crime wave, fears of abrupt and unpredictable political change, and concern about their children's future. In an unstable situation the nonnative population always feels uncomfortable and tries to find a new place to seek prosperity, but regrettably, there has been a clear rise in crime in Checheno-Ingushetia—murders, robberies, muggings, and car thefts.

[Anokhin] Do you not think that the new wave of migration from Checheno-Ingushetia by the Russian-speaking population was triggered by the Russian president's decree instituting a state of emergency in the republic?

[Aslakhanov] I would put it this way: It turned an insignificant trickle into a flood. These things should have been foreseen when the decisions (I am referring to the presidential decree) were made. The most varied experts, political scientists, advisers, and a wide range of people knowledgeable about the problems of the East and everyone who lives there should have been involved.

[Anokhin] What is your attitude to the statements made about possible riots in Moscow which will allegedly be staged by the Chechens, who have declared ghazawat [campaigns of conquest] against Russia?

[Aslakhanov] When I heard the statements about possible Chechen riots, I immediately said that they were lies. Normal people who love their people and respect their fellow Veinakhs living outside Checheno-Ingushetia could not call for such things. This is such a monstrous appeal that I do not even want to believe it. The spread of such rumors is driving a wedge between the Chechens and other peoples and is whipping up interethnic hatred, already with some success. Following the August events, when over 200 Chechens came to the

defense of the White House, there was a wave of sympathy for my people. Feelings have now cooled. Moreover, an aggressively minded section of the local population in Moscow, Krasnodar, Stavropol, and other regions has started being definitely malicious. What can I say? I too have received calls suggesting I should get out of Moscow on the double.

[Anokhin] There is no doubt that not all Russian politicians played a part in exacerbating sociopolitical life in Chechen-Ingushetia. Nonetheless, the main causal relationship is to be found, to my mind, in Chechen-Ingushetia itself, its society, and the makeup of its political forces.

[Aslakhanov] Yes, things would not have reached such extremes and such a complex state in Chechen-Ingushetia if the republic's Supreme Soviet had relinquished its powers in good time, as the people had called for. An example of this is that neighboring Kabardino-Balkaryia faces the same clutch of problems. As soon as rallies against the republic's leaders erupted there, the chairman of the Kabardino-Balkar Supreme Soviet found the courage to resign immediately, and that was only to his credit. As far as I am aware he has now been nominated for president of the republic.

[Anokhin] To go back to the start of our conversation, what could stem the flow of Russians out of Chechen-Ingushetia?

[Aslakhanov] Only stability. Above all, the republic itself needs to decide what it will be in the future—the Chechen-Ingush Republic or the Chechen Republic, whether it will be part of the Union, the RSFSR, or independent. In other words, it has to answer all the questions of concern to the peoples of Chechen-Ingushetia. I believe that my people's wisdom, their historical experience, their elders, and their clergy will help the Veinakhs to make the right decision and embark on the path of peaceful dialogue. Everyone whose homeland is Chechen-Ingushetia should have a happy and free life. It is only the will and prosperity of every family that makes any state strong.

Moscow Mayor Signs Decree Privatizing Housing

OW2511193191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1813 GMT 25 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Monday [25 November], Moscow mayor, Mr. Gavriil Popov, signed a decree on privatizing Moscow's state and municipal housing for free.

The decree instructs the prefects of the administrative districts to start concluding privatization agreements with the population, through the local housing-maintenance departments, beginning November 25.

The contracts will be signed and handed to the owners on the day of application, upon presenting a bank receipt documenting the payment of 250 roubles for the services.

The Moscow government has instructed corresponding bodies to draft a procedure of taxing the immovable property, by January 1, 1992, with due account taken of the location and quality of the housing, and the system of privileges for individual groups, and also to ensure that money be returned to Muscovites who have privatized their apartments in accordance with the government's decision taken in October.

Popov Denies Disagreements With Government

LD2711043991 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1800 GMT 26 Nov 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Moscow Mayor Gavriil Popov and Deputy Mayor Yuriy Luzhkov made a joint statement today in which they denied allegations that serious disagreements exist between the mayor's office and the government. They stressed that decisions on a whole range of questions concerning the privatization of the retail, catering, and service sectors will be published in the next few days. We received this information this afternoon, and we have just received the following report: One hour ago Moscow Mayor Gavriil Popov signed the directive on the privatization of municipal and city retail, catering, and service enterprises in Moscow.

Popov Receives Japanese Business Delegation

OW2511151091 Tokyo KYODO in English 1456 GMT 25 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow, Nov. 25 KYODO—Moscow Mayor Gavriil Popov on Monday [25 November] said Russian President Boris Yeltsin should be given expanded authority so that urgently needed economic reforms can be swiftly implemented.

Yeltsin should be granted powers equivalent to those enjoyed by South Korean President No Tae-u, he said.

Popov also sought Japanese cooperation in four fields—the development of natural resources and energy, agriculture, the conversion of military industry into civil-sector industries, and construction.

The remarks came in a meeting with a visiting Japanese delegation led by Toshikuni Yahiro, vice chairman of the influential Federation of Economic Organizations (Keidanren).

In the field of oil development, Popov asked for Japanese help in introducing electronics and automation technology to enhance the efficiency of the oil production and electric power industries needed to restore oil refining.

He also sought assistance in improving processing and storage of farm products. He further requested aid in the production of small-scale farm machinery essential for privatization of agriculture.

On emergency aid from the seven major industrialized countries, including Japan and the United States, he acknowledged the need for medicines. However, he said there is no need for food aid before the processing and distribution systems can be modernized.

The 35-member delegation of business leaders left Japan Wednesday 20 November] for an 11-day tour of the Soviet Union being sponsored by the private think tank Shinkoso Kenkyu Kai (Policy Innovation Forum) and KYODO NEWS SERVICE.

Moscow Mayor's Office Takes Over CEMA Assets

LD2211001791 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1630 GMT 21 Nov 91

[From the "Television News Service" Program]

[Text] Effective immediately, all the CEMA assets will belong to the Moscow Mayor's office, which has earmarked 87 million rubles for reimbursing debts to former member-states of this organization.

North Ossetian Minister on Self-Defense Order

PM2511131791 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 Nov 91 First Edition p 1

[Correspondent Aleksandr Aleshkin report under the rubric "Echo of Tragedy": "Order Is: Open Fire in Retaliation"]

[Text] Vladikavkaz—The situation in North Ossetia is explosive following the barbaric killing of two militiamen—Senior Lieutenant Stanislav Tsoriyev and Senior Sergeant [starshina] Oleg Chikhaviyev.

Rallies attended by thousands of people were held 19 November at the dead men's homes in the settlements of Digora and Chikhola. They were attended by Akhsarbek Galazov, chairman of the North Ossetia SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet; Sergey Khetagurov, chairman of the North Ossetia SSR Council of Ministers; and Vyacheslav Komissarov, RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] first deputy minister of internal affairs. USSR Minister of Internal Affairs Barannikov and Russian Foreign Minister Dunayev conveyed their condolences to the relatives and friends of the deceased.

"How long will our people have to be killed?" the rally participants asked angrily. They called on the people to register more actively for the republic guard.

Speaking on local television the previous day in connection with the murder of his men, Georgiy Kantemirov, North Ossetian minister of internal affairs, said: "I have issued an order to open fire in retaliation in the event of an armed attack or a threat to life."

New 'Our Ossetia' Movement Chairman Cited

PM2611100991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Nov 91 p 2

[Report by correspondent A. Grachev under general heading: "If Guns Are Shooting, That Means Someone Needs It"]

[Text] Vladikavkaz—Yesterday a republican public movement called "Our Ossetia" was born. Here is what its chairman, V. Lagkuyev, had to say:

"In the 'Our Ossetia' movement we decided to unite all nations living in the republic. The aim is to place the moral, spiritual, and cultural values created by the people above ideology and politics, not to resort to violence, to defend human rights and economic freedom and the holding of direct popular elections, to support the principles of good-neighborliness with other republics and krays, and not to allow any talk of territorial claims infringing on neighbors' interests.

"Unfortunately the democratic societies now existing in the republic are not exerting any positive influence on the processes taking place here. That is why the new, genuinely popular, 'Our Ossetia' movement has been created which, together with other progressive forces, will assume responsibility for the fate of Ossetia at an alarming time."

'Serious Food Shortage' in St. Petersburg

OW2411084391 Tokyo KYODO in English 0751 GMT 24 Nov 91

[Text] St. Petersburg, Soviet Union, Nov. 24 KYODO—St. Petersburg, the Soviet Union's second largest city, suffers a serious food shortage currently because the Baltic nations and the Ukrainian Republic have virtually halted food shipments, the city's mayor said Saturday [24 November].

The three Baltic countries and the Ukraine had provided St. Petersburg with meat, grain, and other foods, but since the Baltics declared independence and the Ukraine declared its sovereignty, food shipments stopped, Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak told a Japanese delegation.

While describing the current food crisis as the result of "political" actions, Sobchak said his city, once known as Leningrad, now has only several days' worth of food on hand, delegation members said.

He appealed for emergency loans and food aid from the European Community and the Group of Seven industrialized nations to ease the crisis, which he termed as complex and dangerous, the sources said.

St. Petersburg plans to liberalize prices December 15 and food producers seem to have stopped shipments until the expected price increases, the members said.

The 35-member delegation of Japanese business leaders left Japan on Wednesday [20 November] for an 11-day tour of the Soviet Union, dispatched by the private think tank Shinkoso Kenkyukai (Policy Innovation Forum) and KYODO NEWS SERVICE.

During his meeting with the delegation, Sobchak implicitly criticized the Russian Republic for its reluctance to privatize state-owned land.

State-owned land and assets should be sold to help control the current inflation and stabilize the ruble currency, he said.

Sobchak stressed an urgent need to pump up the overissued ruble, the delegation sources said.

If he were in charge of economic reforms, including steps to limit inflation after price liberalization, Sobchak said he would take different policies from those of the Russian Republic.

Finance should be improved by selling state-owned assets and privatizing business enterprises, and then currency reform must be carried out with firm determination, he was quoted as saying.

The Japanese group was impressed with the Sobchak's criticism of Russian Republic leader Boris Yeltsin's policies, the sources said.

The delegation is led by Toshikuni Yahiro, vice chairman of the Federation of Economic Organizations (Keidanren) and a senior adviser to the major trading house Mitsui And Co.

Kirov Plant Stops Producing Military Equipment

LD2511105591 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 0900 GMT 25 Nov 91

[Text] The Kirov plant in St. Petersburg has stopped the production of military equipment. It will now produce minitractors for individual farms under the program of military conversion. The engines for these tractors will be supplied first by German companies. They will later help the plant to organize the production of its own engines. More than 400 war enterprises have been already converted in the Soviet Union.

Local Government Reforms in Arkhangelsk Oblast

PM2611150091 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 23 Nov 91 First Edition p 1

[Report from TASS-RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY column: "Reform of Local Power"]

[Text] In line with a decision by an Arkhangelsk City Soviet Session, the city and rayon soviet executive committees have been abolished.

Instead of the administrative partition of the 400,000-strong city into four rayons, nine okrugs have been formed. Leaders of the new executive structures of local authority will be appointed by the city mayor.

Thus in Arkhangelsk the formation of vertical powers based on a strict hierarchy has been completed: president of Russia—head of the oblast administration—city mayor—local authority leader.

'Extreme' Unrest Hits Karachayevo-Cherkessia

PM2611113191 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 23 Nov 91 First Edition p 1

[L. Leontyeva report: "Karachayevo-Cherkessia: Situation Threatens To Get Out of Control"]

[Text] The situation in the Karachayevo-Cherkess SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic], up to now considered the most peaceful republic in the turbulent Caucasus—has unexpectedly deteriorated to the extreme. An unlimited-duration all-national rally has been under way in Karachay for several days now. It began 17 November when there was a ceremonial meeting devoted to the anniversary of the proclamation of the Karachay Republic and the 71st anniversary of the Karachay autonomous formation, which was eliminated in the fall of 1943.

Everyone greeted the long-awaited Russian Law on Rehabilitating Repressed Peoples with massive enthusiasm and hopes for the speediest restoration of flouted justice. In practice, however, the law has existed only on paper, and, moreover, it has spurred on the turbulent political processes in the North Caucasus. The peoples are tired of promises and are demanding actual implementation of adopted laws. This was said with pain and anger at the ceremonial meeting, which subsequently developed into a rally.

Carrying the green banner of Islam, 200 people delegated by the rally went to the oblast soviet executive committee and to see its chairman, RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Deputy Vladimir Khubiyev, demanding his immediate resignation "in connection with the failure to fulfill the law on repressed peoples and the foisting of elections to the so-called Karachayevo-Cherkess SSR Supreme Soviet upon the people in Karachay and Cherkessia against their will." The rally demanded that he resign by 2000 hours 19 November. Otherwise, the ultimatum states, Khubiyev will face a public trial by the people and the entire responsibility for the current crisis and possible unpredictable consequences will lie with him and Oblast Soviet Chairman Viktor Savelyev. The rally warned that attempts to use force will boomerang.

Events in Karachayevo-Cherkessia's Zelenchugskiy Rayon also sparked unrest among the Karachay population. Rayon Soviet Chairman Strigin, who recently succeeded his own brother and sympathizer in this post, conducted an overt policy of ousting people of Karachay

nationality, which, after the Russian population, constitutes the bulk of the population both here and in the republic, from rayon posts.

Furthermore, the recent congress of Cossacks from Zelenchugskiy and Urupskiy Rayons proclaimed on this territory a Cossack Republic which stated its desire to join Stavropol Kray, from which the former Karachayevo-Cherkess autonomous formation seceded. Numerous instances of participation by the Stavropol nomenclature—its former high-ranking party mandarins who have not yet lost their influence—in organizing such acts and whipping up interethnic tension are well known. The Karachayevo-Cherkess SSR leadership and public intend to demand that the new Stavropol Kray administration express its clear position regarding the provocative actions of forces aimed at destroying the former autonomous formation's territorial integrity.

The rally, organized by the "Dzhamagat" democratic society, the Islamic Revival Party, and the local Democratic Party of Russia organization, is demanding that the USSR and RSFSR Supreme Soviets immediately implement the law on repressed peoples and restore Karachay statehood be restored, is proclaiming a boycott of the forthcoming elections to the Karachayevo-Cherkess SSR Supreme Soviet, scheduled for December, and is also "reserving the right to take exceptional steps if these demands are ignored."

Belorussia

Parliament Head Supports Confederation Plan

LD2711070191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1929 GMT 26 Nov 91

[By BELTA-TASS correspondent]

[Excerpts] Minsk, 26 Nov (BELTA-TASS)—Stanislav Shushkevich, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Belarus [Belorussia], is not against a confederative structure for the new community. He made this statement today in a conversation with deputies from the European Parliament who are in the republic. The head of the Belarus parliament also confirmed that the republic would not refuse to pay its part of the former Union's foreign debt. However, he did not share the wish of his West European counterparts to deal with a single partner as represented by the "center." [passage omitted].

Stanislav Shushkevich announced that he had already submitted the draft Union treaty for consideration by parliament. In his view, there will be no particular criticism of the draft treaty from the deputies. He assumes that it will be possible to sign it at the end of the year or at the beginning of next year.

"Not only will we be unable to cope with the problems of Chernobyl on our own, but we also understand perfectly well that today it is impossible to break up the single economic space that has taken shape. To do otherwise in the conditions of an economic crisis would be a suicidal decision," the chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet believes.

Procurator General Comments on Communist Party

LD2611222691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1348 GMT 26 Nov 91

[By BELTA correspondent Vladimir Glod]

[Text] Minsk, 26 Nov (TASS)—The activities of the Belorussian Communist Party (BCP) cannot be resumed today without the adoption of a special decision of the Belarus [Belorussian] Supreme Soviet on the matter, Belarus Procurator General Nikolay Ignatovich declared. He gave explanations concerning the published announcement of the "initiative committee on resumption of the activities of the Belorussian Communist Party and its renewal." The republic's parliament suspended the activities of the CPSU-Belorussian Communist Party after the August events. Its fate has been discussed several times at sessions, but no decision has been made. In Ignatovich's view, the content of the initiative committee's announcement is contradictory. On the one hand, it speaks of the preparations for the constituent congress of a new party, the choosing of its name, the adoption of its rules, and the election of its governing bodies. Such an approach is not at variance with the law on public organizations. On the other hand, the name of the actual committee gives cause for concern. The Belarus procurator general sent local procurators written instructions emphasizing that measures for preparing a constituent congress of communists must be conducted in accordance with the law—that is, outside the framework of the former CPSU-Belorussian Communist Party structures, in non-working time, with the permission of local executive committees, and at the expense of the organizers of the meetings.

Moldova

President Snegur Interviewed on Independence

AU2711103391 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 21 Nov 1991, pp 1, 5

["Part one" of interview with President Mircea Ion Snegur by Mircea Bunea in Kishinev; date not given: "Toward De Facto Independence"]

[Excerpts] [Bunea] Mr. President, although I have seen how much effort you have made today and although I can see that you are tired at this late hour, I am pleased that you have agreed to grant an interview to the newspaper ADEVARUL from Bucharest. From the very beginning, I want to express thanks for your goodwill.

[Snegur] I think I recognize you. You are the journalist who a few days ago—I think during my meeting at the editorial office of the daily MOLDOVA SUVERANA—asked me how the 8 December event can be called an election if I am the sole candidate for the republic's presidency. As you know, the other two, Messrs. Grigore Eremei and Gheorghe Malarciuc, have withdrawn. We can call this event whatever we want, but I think that the confirmation through voting of the one candidate—if the other ones withdraw from the competition—may also be called "elections." Thus, in a way, we can talk about elections. Certainly, you may not agree with this affirmation, but we ourselves have gotten used to saying that on 8 December we will go to the polls to elect the president. I am not very pleased that I am the only one because a single candidacy is completely different from a campaign where there are, let us say, five or six candidates with varying election programs, but this is it; we cannot do anything about it.

[Bunea] Some people say that these elections will not be necessary.

[Snegur] There are such people, but they are wrong. They should remember that all republics that proclaimed their independence, once they left the former empire, elected their presidents. On 24 November Tajikistan has to elect its president, and the Ukraine is going to do the same on 1 December. Belorussia does not have a president either. We have proceeded along the road of a presidential republic; therefore it is necessary to go to its very end, and all people are called upon to elect the president. I am not one of those people who change their opinion all the time. I opted for this road ever since 1989, when on 29 July I was elected president of the Supreme Soviet

Presidium of the Republic; since then I have been walking alongside and together with the democratic forces. The ultimate aim at that time was to achieve independence. Now this independence has been proclaimed. It is our duty to achieve de facto independence. This would help us consolidate a lasting civic peace in our republic and create conditions for the well-being and prosperity of the 4.35 million citizens of the country.

[Bunea] Could you name a few main dangers threatening the Moldovan Republic at this time?

[Snegur] Yes, of course. First, I think I should mention a few threats in the economic area. Even if the Economic Community Treaty of the republics of the former empire has been signed, the chaos is greater than we expected it to be when we initialed our intentions in Alma-Ata. There has been a breach of relations and disorder, which became more pronounced after the putsch. We are realists and serious people, and we know full well how ministry managers were taught formerly: They were constantly waiting to be told how and what to do, with whom to establish production relations, and with whom to conclude accords. Now that those ministries of the former Soviet Union no longer exist—there is only an interrepublican committee in charge of economic problems—our ministries and enterprises, which are the basis of the economy, have concluded very few contracts for 1992.

[Bunea] Thus, would this be one of the dangers?

[Snegur] A danger that has to be borne in mind. [passage omitted]

Our duty, and especially the duty of the government, is to speed up things so that, in at most two weeks, economic accords for 1992 are concluded with all republics of the former Union, but particularly with Russia, Belorussia, and the Ukraine. Within this context, I also have to mention that it is saddening to note that imports from other countries have also stopped.

[Bunea] What kind of imports?

[Snegur] Imports of raw materials such as synthetic fibers and consumer goods. Imports have not only stopped in the Republic of Moldova but for others too because no one is interested in barter any more; everybody wants dollars. Neither Moldova nor the former Soviet Union have dollars.

[Bunea] Can this stop of imports be interpreted by you as a reaction to the political act of declaring the republic's independence?

[Snegur] I do not think so because all the other republics of the former Union are in the same situation. Another threat is that posed to the integrity of the republic. What concerns me is the fact that separatist leaders, who are constantly demanding and seeking guarantees—although we have always declared these guarantees, which are included in the new draft constitution and in the election program of the candidate to the presidential position—have proclaimed the holding of elections on the left side of the Nistru River on 1 December. [passage omitted]

This is a danger, although I think I would rather define it as a worry because you can see that after a year of separatism and of negotiations and efforts to cooperate on our part, the situation—although it is not clear yet—is no longer what it used to be. I think that this is quite something, especially since in other regions of the empire such manifestations are just beginning to appear. [passage omitted]

[Bunea] Are there any other dangers?

[Snegur] I will quote an example from the social area. We have to do something to please and to meet the demands of teachers, physicians, and those active in the cultural area. We would like to increase their wages in keeping with price increases, or at least approach those prices. If we do not take care of our intellectual potential, we will be unable to go on. The danger, the worry is the following: Will we be able to find new resources in order to make their desires come true? From where will we get the necessary funds?

[Bunea] Indeed, from where?

[Snegur] I think that next year we will return to the agro-industrial complex because this year we introduced very many facilities and pleased them the way they wanted it. As a matter of fact, this year kolkhozes paid only symbolic taxes; they were actually exempt from tax. They really deserve it. My farmers have to have both macadam roads, gas, etc. A program for the state's social development has been drafted to be financed from the budget. Therefore, we now are able to approach the kolkhozes, so that they may help as well. I think that on 24 November, during the meeting we have organized with the leaders of these units, we will come to an understanding to solve these problems.

[Bunea] Mr. President, I have been in the Republic of Moldova for almost three weeks. I have talked to numerous people, from workers to important figures of the social, cultural, political, and scientific activity. I have also seen some street demonstrations. I have learned that the opposition accuses you of signing various treaties—primarily the economic one—thus contributing to the restoration of the empire. The same opposition charges that because of certain measures, you contribute to the preservation of communist structures. What are your answers to these accusations?

[Snegur] I think that such accusations and charges against me are made only by people who have no responsibility toward the people. First, one has to think: How do we pass the winter? With what do we light a fire, how do we keep our people warm? What shall we do? Should we be proud and freeze, or be realistic and stay warm?! Those who accuse me have no responsibility whatsoever. Of course, it would be easier for me to practice demagoguery. I sometimes quote an example. I will use it again. It would be easier for me to go to

Chelyabinsk or Volgograd to some plant to smelt pig iron and then go out into the street to chant that this is not correct and not good, that there is not enough oxygen, iron ore, and so forth, but I cannot this because I have assumed a responsibility toward the people; I have to guarantee the people electricity, heating, and everything they need. This, in connection with the first part of your question.

[Bunea] What about the second part of it?

[Snegur] I view the fact that I am accused of preserving communist structures as a provocation by those who think this way because no communist structure has been preserved. We preserve those structures that are in keeping with the law. Communist structures are no longer preserved. There are no more party organizations. All parties that want to have party organizations and be active may do so on the basis of the territorial principle; that is where they live. This is what the law stipulates on political parties. I am still accused of employing former nomenclature members, former communists, etc. in jobs. Well, I too am a former communist, am I not? And even of a high caliber: Former secretary of the Central Committee of the Moldovan Communist Party. So what? Gorbachev himself is a former communist; Iliescu, too, was a communist, and what does this mean?

[Bunea] Really nothing?

[Snegur] Nothing. The main thing is that we have renounced the ideology that was forced on us, an ideology in which we possibly never believed, but that is what our century was like. I worked in the party for 25 years, but I left it in time. This was my desire when the party still seemed powerful. I left it and joined the democratic bloc, and now I am going ahead. You tell me: What shall we do with 180,000 former party members, incorporating farmers, workers, and intellectuals alike? Should we discard them? I think that we should have the decency to view them as our brothers and sisters. [passage omitted]

Frequently, during talks with former communists, I am asked: "What is going to happen to us, Mr. President? We are being criticized." I answer: Well, what can happen? Nothing, good fellows. We will renounce communist ideology and return to our Christianity, freedom, independence, etc. [passage omitted]

I think that we have to take care of people, primarily of the rank and file, because the intellectuals are able to find their way out of this situation by themselves. If, however, you were told about concrete examples of certain communist structures, I am ready to answer.

Comments on Unification With Romania

AU2711110691 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 22 Nov 1991, pp 1, 5

["Part two" of interview with President Mircea Ion Snegur by Mircea Bunea in Kishinev; date not given: "I Will Tell You When the Unification is Ripe"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] Concerning long-term relations with Romania, what guidelines will be at the basis of your policies?

[Snegur] I do not know whether I can answer that. I do not want to offend my colleagues in Romania.

[Bunea] Offend them! Let that be their last worry.

[Snegur] What I mean is that I was astonished to see that Mr. President Iliescu had Messrs. Iurie Rosca [leader of the Popular Front of Moldova] and others as his guests. I read in yesterday's edition of the newspaper TARA [The Country] that some leaders of the Popular Front had demanded that Romania's Senate or other bodies, the entire leadership of the country, should examine the issue of granting Romanian citizenship to the Moldovans on the left bank of the River Prut. This is more than a nonsense, it is actually a paradox: I told no one anything, and I received no one, but I do have two piles of requests from Moldovans living on the right bank of the Prut [in Romania] asking to become citizens of the Republic of Moldova. Here is the paradox! [passage omitted]

Our position is firm—you can check it against all interviews I gave to foreign news agencies. It is no reason for joy; it is actually a tragedy that we, Moldovans, are today separated into Moldovans on the right and left banks of the River Prut, in south Bessarabia, north Bukovina, the Herta district, Transdniestria, and after Transdniestria, in the Ukraine, where there are still 450,000 Romanian Moldovans. Therefore, we should consolidate and help each other. At the same time, being politicians we should realize that there are such things as Helsinki and the Paris Charter; we cannot and do not want to get carried away, and then be unable to stop. We can only lose by that. [passage omitted]

We should proceed in a moderate way.

[Bunea] Moderate in relation to what?

[Snegur] In relation to what you asked me about. We should be moderate in anything we undertake to do. When the time comes, I will tell the people: When the issue of unification with Romania becomes topical, I will let you know in time. I will tell you when the time is ripe for unification. The people must always be told by someone, right? The people have to listen to someone. Not all those who imagine that they make politics need go out and shout in the streets, "Union, union" or "I am a unionist, you are not a unionist," etc. This is not right. I do not know whether I will be that leader to say such a thing; but if I am going to be that one—because there must be such a leader—I will say something like this: "Good fellows, look, it is good here, it is also good there. Why do we still need these customs offices? Let us get rid of them! The time has come to get rid of them...." [passage omitted]

We should continue along the road we have chosen, namely that of integration. Did we not do a cultural

confederation? We did. We are also setting up joint enterprises. [passage omitted]

This union is a question of mentality, which all Moldovans, even those on the right bank of the River Prut, understand very well. [passage omitted]

[Bunea] Among other things, the opposition blames you for slowly pushing the country toward a personal dictatorship. How do you react when you hear or read such things?

[Snegur] I granted an interview recently to Danish Television. If I remember correctly, this interview was also relayed by our national television. When I was just talking about democracy, the Danish reporter interrupted and asked me: "If there is democracy, why do some people call you a dictator?"

[Bunea] What was your reply?

[Snegur] I asked him to look at me and say whether I looked like a dictator. I cannot even be a dictator because I am too gentle and soft. [passage omitted]

This is what I tell those people who call me a dictator: I believe that they are just playing with words. I do not know how seriously one can take the opposition as such. This is more like a political game, so that one can say that we also have an opposition. Because, if the opposition really wants to be taken seriously, it should put up a candidate in the elections and should organize a team to challenge me openly. Then we can face each other on television, present our programs and arguments, question each other, or answer the commentators' questions. I assure the people that I am in favor of democracy. [passage omitted]

Republic To Repay Portion of USSR Debt

LD2711033891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1528 GMT 26 Nov 91

[By MOLDOVA-PRES - TASS correspondent]

[Text] Kishinev, 26 Nov (MOLDOVA-PRES—TASS)—Moldova's portion of the USSR's external debt to be repaid totals $770 million. This figure was given today at a sitting of the republic's government by Constantin Tampiza, first deputy prime minister and minister of the national economy.

An agreement on debt repayment, Prime Minister Valeriy Muravskiy observed, can open the road to integration with the West for the republic. That promises great opportunities for the improvement of production and the output of high-quality goods.

Further on Debt

AU2711101191 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0856 GMT 27 Nov 91

[Text] Chisinau [Kishinev], ROMPRES, 27/11/1991—Moldova's quota from the Soviet Union's foreign debt is of 770 million dollars. This figure was for the first time made public during the Tuesday [26 November] meeting of the government by First Deputy Prime Minister and Economy Minister Constantin Tampiza. According to his assessments Moldova exports annually a production worth 280 million dollars while the republic's hard currency requirement exceed 600 million.

The stand of the Moldovan Government is clear—debts must be paid. Prime Minister Valeriu stated: "the fact that the republic accepted to pay the debt opens up in front of it the path to integration with the West."

Social Democrats Favor Presidential Elections

AU2611192491 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1627 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Text] Chisinau [Kishinev] ROMPRES, 26/11/1991—In a statement relayed by the press agency "MOLDOVA PRES," the Social-Democratic Party of Moldova said that "the pre-electoral situation in Moldova can be termed as a serious social-political and economic crisis. None of the existing state structures is able to function as such, which is posing a threat to the very existence of Moldova as an independent state. Under these critical conditions, the forces hostile to our state sovereignty are making attempts at questioning the necessity of presidential elections, and are launching the thesis that only the parliamentary form of governing is appropriate for Moldova.

"The necessity for a power to be instituted, rendered legitimate by the society, as well as the impossibility for an efficient parliament to be formed, objectively call for a presidential variant in a society that wants to be democratic. Under these circumstances, the participation in the December 8 elections will also have the significance of a vote of confirmation of the state independence of the Republic of Moldova."

Ukraine

Kravchuk on Union Treaty, Referendum Issue

LD2611235291 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2100 GMT 26 Nov 91

["Vesti" video report from Kiev by unidentified correspondent on news conference given by Supreme Soviet Chairman Leonid Kravchuk on 26 November]

[Text] Those present were mainly interested in the question of the forthcoming referendum. The first words spoken by the Ukrainian leader were a statement that he had never opposed Ukraine's independence and that the CPSU's policy and Kravchuk's policy were two different things.

Leonid Kravchuk said the reason for Ukraine's refusal to sign a political treaty with the republics of the former union was that it does not accept the proposed document

in its present form. He sees a future union organized on the model of the European Community, and not in the form of a three-tiered statehood.

Answering a question on whether Russia will recognize the Ukraine in the event of a positive result to the referendum, Kravchuk said: I do not think that if Russia does not recognize the Ukraine's independence, the latter will cease to exist, and I see no reason for such a position on Russia's part. He added that if Russia proclaims its independence today, then the Ukraine will recognize it tomorrow.

Expresses 'Lack of Faith'

LD2611201191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1843 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow, 26 Nov (TASS)—Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Chairman Leonid Kravchuk expressed his lack of faith in the Treaty of the Union of Sovereign States (USS). Explaining his position regarding the Treaty on the USS, he noted in his interview in today's IZVESTIYA that "a confederation and a united state are incompatible and mutually exclusive things. I don't want to take part in this deception," he stressed. According to Leonid Kravchuk "there are no guarantees that the center would not usurp power once again and would not subordinate everything to itself."

Answering the question on how he explains Mikhail Gorbachev's position, the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet chairman said that the USSR president "was led by fears that the enormous problems facing multinational peoples would be impossible to resolve without a unified state." Leonid Kravchuk continued, saying that as far as Russian President Boris Yeltsin was concerned, "to a certain degree, he identifies Russia with the Union. Boris Yeltsin assumes that Russia should continue being the center, with new states orbiting around it." Explaining his position on the single economic space, the Ukrainian leader said that by this he meant "mutually profitable trade and cooperation with other sovereign states," but that he did not support the idea of a single market where "absolutely everything is unified and identical." In his opinion, a single economic space presupposes the participation of many markets.

Leonid Kravchuk spoke in favor of the principle of a single military-strategic space. "The strategic troops should be under a single collective command with a single Ministry of Defense and General Staff," he noted. "We are ready to turn the Ukraine into a non-nuclear state, but this aim can be reached only via a treaty process with the participation of all the states which possess nuclear weapons," Leonid Kravchuk stressed.

Working People's Union on Treaty

LD2611155191 Kiev Radio Kiev in English 0100 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Excerpts] The Presidium of pan-Ukrainian Union of Working People's solidarity has issued an official message to the auditing Commission of Ukraine's parliament and General Procurator's office.

In this message the leaders of the union blame the chairman of Ukraine's Supreme Soviet for his allegedly open pressure applied upon the Ukrainian parliamentarians during the voting on 6 November in connection with the treaty on economic community of former Union republics. [passage omitted]

The authors of the address consider this treaty an (?empire) political burden for Ukraine.

State Bank Official Previews New Currency

LD2611203591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1304 GMT 26 Nov 91

[By Vyacheslav Bantin]

[Text] Tokyo, 26 Nov (TASS)—Coupons—that is approximately what the Ukraine's own currency will be called. It will be put into circulation on the territory of this republic in the next two months. This was reported by Aleksandr Savchenko, deputy chairman of the Board of the Ukrainian State Bank, when he spoke at the Tokyo meeting of former deputy ministers of finances and chiefs of central financial institutions of the countries of the Seven which ended today. Together with a number of other official representatives of the Soviet republics he took part in the meeting at the invitation of the organizers of the representative forum at which there was discussion, in particular of the problems of the policy of Western countries regarding the republics of the former USSR.

Aleksandr Savchenko said in an interview given to a TASS correspondent that the new monetary unit will be valid for about six months on the territory of the republic alongside the ruble. At the end of this period it is proposed to carry out a financial reform which will result in the total disappearance of the ruble in the Ukraine and the appearance of a new permanent monetary unit for which no name has been devized yet. It is possible that it will be the "Ukrainian dollar" or the "Hryvnya." The new Ukrainian currency, the final decision on the name of which will be taken in the next two weeks, will be convertible regarding both the ruble and the U.S. dollar. At present some of the coupons have already been printed but the "Ukrainian dollar" as yet exists only as test samples.

There is a broad complex of economic and political reasons that explain such a step on the part of the Ukraine, Aleksandr Savchenko noted. In particular the republic suffers from a lack of Soviet rubles, with their supply to the Ukraine having been considerably reduced

in recent times. A. Savchenko said that "the strategic reason for introducing our own monetary unit is undoubtedly the desire to conduct an independent financial policy." Alongside the introduction of the national monetary unit the Ukraine aims to start implementing the program of "small-scale privatization," which should gradually grow into a full scale privatization including even the major state enterprises.

Presidential Contenders on Black Sea Fleet

PM2611142491 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 23 Nov 91 First Edition p 2

[Captain Second Rank V. Pasyakin report: "Fleet Not Forgotten"]

[Text] Sevastopol—A recent meeting between Fleet Admiral I. Kasatonov, commander of the Black Sea Fleet; N. Bagrov, chairman of the Crimean ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet; and V. Kurashik, chairman of the Crimean ASSR Council of Ministers, discussed the fact that the accumulated problems can only be resolved by joint and well coordinated efforts. The commander briefed the Crimean ASSR leadership on the situation in the fleet, the results of combat training, current problems, and measures to provide social protection for the servicemen (there are currently 7,118 officers and warrant officers in the fleet without their own accommodation).

At the same time, Ukrainian presidential contender V. Chornovil visited Sevastopol. He met with naval seamen and city residents. Answering the military men's questions, Chornovil noted that nobody intends to divide up the Black Sea Fleet immediately. To a question about pension provision, he said that he considers military work difficult and risky. Attitudes to it should therefore be attentive, and pensions for officers discharged to the reserve should, in his opinion, be meticulously paid out.

The previous day another Ukrainian presidential contender, V. Grinev, had met with the military and townspeople. He noted in particular that considerable ground force and naval cuts were inevitable, but that he believes that the Black Sea Fleet should not be divided up.

Interrepublic Affairs

Presidents Invited to Tbilisi for Talks

AU2711110091 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0522 GMT 27 Nov 91

[Invitation from Zviad Gamsakhurdia, president of the Republic of Georgia, to Ayaz Mutalibov, president of the Republic of Azerbajan, and Levon Ter-Petrosyan, president of the Republic of Armenia, issued in Tbilisi on 26 November]

[Text] To His Excellency Batoni [Georgian honorific] Ayaz Mutalibov, president of the Republic of Azerbaijan, and His Excellency Batoni Levon Ter-Petrosyan, president of the Republic of Armenia.

Dear Batonebo,

We are on the verge of achieving complete political independence. Any kind of confrontation in our region complicates the resolution of this most important task. At the same time, one can clearly see the interrelationship of tragic circumstances that are complicating the political resolution of problems are growing daily.

Reactionary imperialist forces are trying to bring about mutual confrontation and destabilization in the whole region, inflame conflicts and strife between peoples and, in this way, prove to the whole world the weakness of our aspirations and make it impossible for our countries to achieve their desired aim of freedom and independence.

The only way of resolving all problems for those peoples who have been living side by side for thousands of years and who have been following a difficult historical path together and who are fated to continue to live alongside one another in the future is through negotiations, mutual respect, and understanding of the necessity of coexisting as good neighbors.

Azerbaijan, Armenia, and Georgia are in a position to exert a positive influence upon the political climate, not only in the Caucasus but also in western Asia, with all the results proceeding from this. It is precisely for this reason that it is particularly important to eliminate all hotbeds of tension and bloodshed.

Dear Batonebo, I call upon you to put an end to your confrontation and invite you to come to Tbilisi to conduct negotiations so that the existing problems may be resolved by political means. I am convinced that only in this way is it possible for us to achieve the desired results. I ask you to let me know when this meeting can be held.

Yours sincerely,

Zviad Gamsakhurdia, president of the Republic of Georgia

Tbilisi, 26 November 1991.

IZVESTIYA Notes Threat of 'Real War'

PM2611171691 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Nov 91 Union Edition p 1

[Feature comprising editorial introduction, report on situation in Azerbaijan by V. Belykh and N. Burbyga, and report from Yerevan by correspondent S. Bablumyan: "Azerbaijan and Armenia Must Be Reconciled at All Costs. Who Can Do It?"]

[Text] Only a year ago predictions of a possible civil war in our country's territory were regarded by public opinion with a good dose of skepticism. Although in Nagorno-Karabakh such a war was basically already in progress. Today that local conflict has reached such a scale that it threatens to turn into a real war between two neighboring republics: Armenia and Azerbaijan. The Caucasus is now—and not metaphorically—a powder keg which, if it explodes, could lead to a tragedy for us like that in Yugoslavia. Has that country's bitter experience taught our statesmen nothing? Avoiding large-scale bloodshed, preventing war between two peoples—every possible means must be used to that end, while there is apparently still time...

Tension Increasing

[Belykh, Burbyga report] The situation in Azerbaijan has become increasingly alarming since the disaster involving USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] Internal Forces helicopter No. 72.

Clearly the investigation will not be able quickly to provide an answer to the question: Was the Mi-8 shot down, or was the tragedy caused by other circumstances? According to our information, the "black box" is in the hands of staffers of Azerbaijan's law enforcement organs and investigating it is difficult. Igor Lazutkin, the Stepanakert Garrison military prosecutor, who has instituted criminal proceedings in the case of the air disaster, is receiving threats from representatives of both the warring parties.

Meanwhile shots are ringing out increasingly frequently. As Aleksandr Rostovtsev, staffer of the USSR MVD Public Relations Center, reports, at kilometer 27 on the Baku-Shemakha highway, near the settlement of Pirikyukyul, unidentified persons fired on an army patrol of six men. In the firefight three of the attacking Azerbaijanis were killed and four were wounded. On the scene of the fight the military men found four AKM assault rifles, Makarova and TT pistols, and two Ural trucks and a UAZ-469.

Major General Nikolay Batarchuk, first deputy commander of the sector troops [voyska napravleniya], told us over the telephone how the situation in Baku is developing today:

[Batarchuk] Since morning, Baku has been calm. An emergency session of the republic Supreme Soviet has begun, which will examine, in particular, questions of ensuring the safety of Azerbaijan's citizens...

[IZVESTIYA] Nikolay Aleksandrovich, have there been any hostile actions against servicemen?

[Batarchuk] There is nothing like that. As far as you know [as published], there were servicemen in the helicopter too. They died too. It is a shared grief... Although I do not rule out factors such as the attempted seizure of weapons from servicemen, because weapons are highly prized in the Caucasus today.

[IZVESTIYA] How do you think events will develop?

[Batarchuk] It is hard to be specific. I would like to think that some kind of solution will be found at the forthcoming meeting between the presidents of Azerbaijan and Armenia and Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. A way out of the impasse must be found by political means. Otherwise it means bloodshed. War... [Batarchuk ends]

The calm in the capital does not extend to the regions of the republic. Unidentified persons blew up a power transformer supplying electricity to the Azerbaijani villages of Mazamly, Kheyrimli, Yukhary, and Ashagy Askipara. The villages of Shafag and Zeyva were fired on from the direction of the villages of Karachinar and Yenikend. As a result of the fighting that broke out, a tank containing 15 tonnes of gasoline blew up.

There is not much information about what is happening in Nagorno-Karabakh. Telephone and telegraph communications with the oblast are broken off. It is known only that during the nights energetic firefights are taking place around Stepanakert, with all kinds of weapons. Many houses have been destroyed.

One Step Away From War

[Bablumyan report] Yerevan—In connection with the tension in relations between Armenia and Azerbaijan, which has now reached a peak, the parliament of the Republic of Armenia has issued a special statement.

It explains the sharp deterioration in the situation, in particular, in terms of the blockade of the main gas pipeline and railroad by the neighboring republic, as well as the attempt to exploit for political purposes the tragic deaths in the air disaster. Today, when the peoples of Armenia and Azerbaijan have, the statement says, embarked on the path of the restoration of national statehood and have been granted the opportunity to smooth out interstate relations, the Armenian parliament hopes that the Supreme Soviet of the Azerbaijan Republic will refrain from steps that would inevitably lead to confrontation and finally wreck the dialogue between the two republics that has begun through the mediation of the presidents of Russia and Kazakhstan.

For the sake of the two peoples' future, everything possible must be done to find peaceful ways out of the situation that has developed, the document says in conclusion.

The possibility of achieving success through talks is indicated, in particular, by the fact of the return on 25 November of 12 Armenian hostages seized on the territory of Nakhichevan.

Meanwhile artillery bombardment of Armenia's Taushskiy Rayon continues from the neighboring side. As IZVESTIYA was told by Vagarshak Arutyunyan, the republic's deputy minister of internal affairs, Alazan missiles have destroyed several houses in the Armenian village of Voskepar.

On 25 November the Armenian Supreme Soviet set up the republic's Defense Ministry, and a draft law on drafting for military service was also approved. Military service will be carried out by young people aged 18 to 25 in the territory of Armenia for a two-year period, or at the request of the conscript, outside Armenia in Soviet Army units.

Armenia

Appeal to Azerbaijan To Avoid Confrontation

NC2611162791 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 26 Nov 91

["Statement issued by the Armenian Republic's Supreme Soviet"]

[Text] The latest actions of Azerbaijan directed against Armenia—the cut off of the pipeline passing through its territory, the blockade of communications routes, and the exploitation of the tragic helicopter accident for political purposes—have engendered a new wave of tension between the two republics.

At present, when the people of Armenia and Azerbaijan are facing the task of restoring national statehood and charting interstate relations, the Armenian Supreme Soviet hopes that the Azerbaijani Supreme Soviet will refrain from steps that might make a confrontation unavoidable and permanently obstruct the dialogue that has started between the two republics at the initiative of the presidents of Russia and Kazakhstan.

In appealing to the Azerbaijani Supreme Soviet, to leaders of Azerbaijani political organizations, and to religious leaders, the Armenian Supreme Soviet urges every effort to find a peaceful way out of the prevailing situation for the sake of the future of the two peoples.

[Dated] 25 November 1991, Yerevan.

National Movement Calls For Peace

OW2711030291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2031 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At the session of Armenia's Supreme Soviet being held now in Yerevan, the leadership of the Armenian

National Movement read out an appeal to the Azerbaijani People's Front in view of the grave situation following the helicopter crash in Nagorno-Karabakh, which claimed many victims. The appeal points out that the future of the Caucasus depends on the will of its peoples, including Armenians and Azerbaijanis to live together in peace.

"At this grave moment for both nations," goes the appeal, "we suggest resolute steps to get out of the crisis by establishing stable political relations between the two states." On the brink of war between them, the Armenian National Movement finds it necessary to uphold a dialogue with the Azerbaijani People's Front, without any preliminaries and in any spot.

Meanwhile—reports an INTERFAX correspondent—the session of Armenia's Supreme Soviet has again failed to elect its chairman. In the final round of voting today the deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet Babken Ararktsyan gained 105 votes, and his rival—chairman of the Artsakh Commission (Armenian name for Nagorno-Karabakh) Seiran Bagdasaryan won 76 votes. A minimum of 131 votes is needed for a victory.

Democratic Party Fears Economic War

LD2611202491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1344 GMT 26 Nov 91

[By correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan, 26 Nov (TASS)—The Central Council of the Democratic Party of Armenia has expressed its condolences to the close families and relatives of the Azerbaijani statesmen, the leaders of the law enforcement bodies of Nagorno-Karabakh, the representatives of the groups of observers from Russia and Kazakhstan, and the crew members who died when a military helicopter crashed.

A statement from the Council of the party, which was distributed here today, expressed concern even so at the complication of the situation in the region, which "has reached the heights of tension as a result of the helicopter crash" and expressed indignation at the "anti-Armenian hysteria on the part of certain political forces of the neighboring republic who have an interest in worsening the domestic political situation en route to obtaining power." Evidently, the document goes on to say, one of the consequences of this policy is a total blockade of Armenia which, in the run-up to a harsh winter, is equivalent to waging economic war.

The Democratic Party of Armenia called on all the democratic and progessive forces of Russia and the other sovereign states to take every opportunity for defusing the extremely explosive situation by the political means that are generally accepted in a civilized and democratic society.

The recently registered Democratic Party of Armenia was created by a group of delegates to the 29th Congress of the republican Communist Party who voted in September this year for an end to the activities of the latter.

Azerbaijan

Further Reportage Highlights NKAO Developments

Rallies in Gendzha, Sheki Reported

NC2711121691 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1800 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Text] Participants of the mass rally held in the Gendzha city center called for the immediate establishment of a national army for the defense of Azerbaijan's borders, territorial integrity, and independence. Many of the young speakers said that they are ready to join the ranks of the national army and called on their peers to follow in their steps.

Participants in the rally in Sheki on 24 November described the incidents in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] as the outcome of the [word indistinct] policy maintained by government organs of the former Union and the failure of the USSR Supreme Soviet to adopt a decisive and consistent approach to the problem. The participants of the rally remembered the victims of the 20 November helicopter disaster and called for the immediate capture of the assailants. They also called for the termination of Armenia's undeclared war against Azerbaijan and urged measures to safeguard the Azerbaijani people's national honor and dignity.

The participants also adopted a resolution which called on the republic's leaders to adopt a decisive stand. The resolution also demanded the dissolution of the republican parliament, the transfer of the administration to the national defense council, and the establishment of self-defense forces within a short period of time. Other demands were also included in the resolution.

Supreme Soviet Annuls Autonomy

LD2711093491 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 0305 GMT 27 Nov 91

[Text] [passage indistinct] The extraordinary session of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet discussed the question of the Supreme Soviet concerning the establishment of the National Council and adopted the relevant decision. On the basis of a request by Ayaz Mutalibov, president of the Republic, the Supreme Soviet confirmed Murad Babayev, people's deputy and deputy procurator general as procurator general of the Republic of Azerbaijan. Later the Supreme Soviet discussed the political and social question in the republic. The Supreme Soviet discussed the question of the status of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]. After an open ballot the autonomous status of Nagorno-Karabakh was dissolved. The session also examined and discussed other questions.

Change in Status, Stepanakert Noted

LD2611203791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2012 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Text] Baku, 26 Nov (TASS)—The status of Nagorno-Karabakh as an autonomous oblast of the Azerbaijani Republic was liquidated today by the Azerbaijan parliament. In connection with this abolition, a law was also adopted on the introduction of corresponding changes and additions to the Azerbaijan Constitution. This decision, for which the deputies voted unanimously, was adopted in connection with the acute exacerbation of the sociopolitical and economic situation in Azerbaijan. At the same time, the former oblast center of Stepanakert has been given back its historic name. It will now be called Khankendi. At this point the extraordinary session of the Azerbaijani Supreme Soviet ended its work. The other items on the agenda—on the state border of the Azerbaijani Republic, on relations between the Azerbaijani Republic and the Republic of Armenia, and others—have been passed on a parliamentary decision for examination by the Azerbaijani Supreme Soviet National Council. The first session of this new permanent body will be held tomorrow.

President Outlines Measures

LD2711083491 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0700 GMT 27 Nov 91

[Text] An emergency session of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet opened on 26 November in Baku. The republic democratic public insisted on this session. Azer Khalilov reports:

[Khalilov] Ayaz Mutalibov spoke. He spoke against breaking off the economic ties with Armenia completely, introducing martial law on the entire territory of Azerbaijan, and recalling officers and soldiers of the Azerbaijan nationality from the Soviet Army ranks. At the same time, he stressed in his speech that he is in favor of adopting measures aimed at ensuring the safety of the Azerbaijan population of Nagorno-Karabakh and the areas of Azerbaijan bordering on Armenia. He also stressed that it is necessary to speed up the formation of the national army and to carry out the stock-taking of the property of the military units stationed on the territory of the republic. All this should be done in accordance with the law.

He also spoke in favor of transferring all military units on the territory of Azerbaijan under republic jurisdiction. He also noted that he is against discontinuing the negotiating process with Armenia.

Expressing his attitude to the Union treaty, he said he is in favor of confederation. In connection with this, it is neccessary, he thinks, to revise the political agreement and the Economic Community Treaty, taking into account the conditions put forward by Azerbaijan. The urgent task the republic faces is the strengthening of Azerbaijan's state borders. The Procurator General of the Azerbaijan Republic was elected at the session. He was nominated by the president. He is Murad Babayev.

The agenda of the session published previously underwent some changes. Deputies examined the setting up of a National Council as an immediate task. According to other most recent information, the National Council democrats insisted on was set up at last. The National Council is to choose a new agenda and submit it to the session for discussion.

President Opposes End in Relations

LD2611185291 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1800 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Text] Azerbaijan President Ayaz Mutalibov has spoken against cutting off relations, including economic relations, and completely discontinuing talks with Armenia. He said that the talks should be continued. The president of Azerbaijan rejected military means of resolving the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict.

Mutalibov spoke today at the extraordinary session of the Azerbaijani parliament convened as a result of the rise in tension in Armenian-Azerbaijani relations following the 20 November crash in Nagorno-Karabakh of a helicopter carrying high-ranking officials of Azerbaijan and representatives of Russia and Kazakhstan.

Ayaz Mutalibov also opposed recalling officers and soldiers of Azerbaijani nationality from the ranks of the Soviet Army; at the same time he advocated transferring all military units stationed in Azerbaijan to the jurisdiction of the republic, as well as speeding up the creation of a national army. All of this, the president of Azerbaijan stressed, should be carried out within the framework of the law.

Political Solution Still Sought

LD2611232791 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 26 Nov 91

["TV Inform" video report from Baku by correspondent M. Mamedov]

[Text] An extraordinary session of the Supreme Soviet of the Azerbaijan Republic opened in Baku today.

[Mamedov] It was to the accompaniment of a gathering of many thousands of people, whose main demand is the resignation of parliament and the leaders of the republic, that the extraordinary session of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet began its work. It has been called in connection with the dramatic deterioration of the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh. The members of parliament honored with one minute of silence in memory of those who died when a military helicopter exploded.

Speaking at the session, Ayaz Mutalibov, president of the Azerbaijan Republic, called on parliament and all the people of Azerbaijan to take wise and considered decisions at a difficult hour of trial. We did not start this war,

and although it is taking place on our land, we are prepared even today to look for a way out of a situation of crisis by political means, the president stressed.

The main aim of the opposition has been met. A national council has been set up. This will be a permanently functioning body of the republican Supreme Soviet with the right to take the initiative in legislation. All 50 deputies who are members of this council are released from their main work.

The members of parliament have embarked on an examination of the status of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and the state borders of the Azerbaijan Republic, and of the issue of withdrawing the internal troops of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs and the USSR Ministry of Defense from the territory of the republic. The session continues its work.

Official Recommends Eviction

NC2711001891 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1800 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Text] Enormous responsibilities fall on the militia organizations in guaranteeing the security of the Azerbaijani people in Nagorno-Karabakh. [words indistinct]

The militia will make use of all possibilities available to it [words indistinct]. The Armenians are firing on and raiding cities. Here is [name indistinct] the [word indistinct] deputy head of the internal affairs department of Dzhebrailskiy Rayon.

[Begin recording] Our rayon borders Gadrutskiy Rayon of Nagorno-Karabakh. [words indistinct] the situation is extremely tense. [words indistinct] our fighters are defending our people from the Armenian [word indistinct]. There are Azerbaijanis, those who were evicted from Armenia, living in Gadrutskiy [words indistinct]. All the Armenians must be evicted from Nagorno-Karabakh. There is no other way out. [end recording]

Liberation Army Issues Statement

LD2611192191 Moscow Radiostantsiya Ekho Moskvy in Russian 1700 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Text] The Karabakh News Agency circulated today a statement by the People's Liberation Army of (?Arsak)—that is what Nagorno-Karabakh is called. Our Yerevan correspondent Lyudmila Avanyan reports:

[Begin recording] It says that this army's purpose is to ensure the security of the Armenian population of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic. Its fighters and commanders do not regard themselves as enemies of all the Azerbaijani people and do not set themselves the task of eliminating the Azerbaijani community of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic. The army does not see subunits of the interior troops of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs as its enemies and wishes success for the quickest settlement of the Karabakh conflict on the basis of peoples' right to self-determination.

The People's Liberation Army resolutely rejects the fabrications of the Azerbaijani side about its involvement in the 20 November military helicopter crash. Expressing sincere condolences to the families of those who died, the army states once again its immutable aspiration for (?peace) with the Russian people and for peaceful neutrality with the Internal Troops of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs. [end recording]

Electricity Back; Hostages Exchanged

LD2611140591 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1200 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Text] TASS reports that the last 24 hours have passed relatively calmly in Nagorno-Karabakh, compared with the previous 24 hours. During the night, only isolated shots were heard on the outskirts of Stepanakert. There were no casualties. After a break of 24 hours, the electricity supply was restored yesterday evening to Stepanakert and Askeran.

On 25 November, there was an exchange of hostages through the mediation of the military. The exchange occurred on the border of Askeranskiy Rayon in Nagorno-Karabakh and in the neighboring Agdamskiy Rayon. Two Armenians were exchanged for five Azerbaijanis.

Georgia

Gorbachev Promises Independence Recognition

LD2611140191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1200 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Text] INTERFAX reports that after the signing of the Union treaty, Georgia will be recognized as an independent state. According to Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia, he was assured of this by USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev in a telephone call.

More Reportage on Conflict in South Ossetia

Emergency Lifted in Tskhinvali, Java

OW2611124891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1125 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Monday [25 November], at the proposal of President Zviad Gamsakhurdia, Georgia's parliament lifted the state of emergency in the city of Tskhinvali and in Java region of South Ossetia.

Addressing MPs [members of parliament], Z. Gamsakhurdia explained that "it's necessary to do something to alleviate tensions and prevent a further escalation of war in Samachablo" (the Georgian name of South Ossetia—IF [INTERFAX]).

The parliament also adopted a resolution, proclaiming the need to withdraw USSR Interior Ministry troops from the area.

General Mobilization Begun

LD2611194191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1800 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Text] A general mobilization of Ossetians from ages 18 to 60 began today by decision of the South Ossetian Supreme Soviet. The South Ossetian deputies gathered at an extraordinary parliamentary session today to discuss the situation that has developed since the Georgian Supreme Soviet lifted the state of emergency in the South Ossetian capital of Tskhinvali and Dzhava Rayon.

On 25 November, the Georgian Supreme Soviet also adopted a resolution on the need to withdraw units of the USSR Interior Ministry Internal Troops from the region. An INTERFAX correspondent notes that serious concern is being expressed in Tskhinvali because of rallies held in a number of Georgian towns calling for a crusade on South Ossetia.

According to reports, those taking part promised to turn South Ossetia into a second Kuwait. According to current information, Georgian military units are concentrating around Tskhinvali. Heavy equipment, APC's, tanks, rocket launchers, and artillery have been drawn up. Two people were injured as a result of the 25 November shelling of the settlement of Znauri.

Renewed Violence Wounds Seven

LD2611134591 Moscow TASS in English 1314 GMT 26 Nov 91

[By correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz November 26 [dateline as received]—Tskhinvali and the Znaoursk region in South Ossetia erupted in violence again today after a brief reprieve.

Early morning gunfire in Tsikhinvali damaged several public utilities and twelve homes, leaving seven wounded.

Along the Transcaucasian highway, a tunnel and a column of trucks heading from Vladikavkaz into South Ossetia were bombarded heavily.

According to the South Ossetia information committee press center, gunfire is still being exchanged between Georgians and South Ossetians in the Znaoursk region. Twelve Ossetians have been taken hostage.

The Supreme Soviet of Georgia's recent decision to lift the state of emergency after 11 months from South Ossetia has ignited controversy in the area. Members of Georgian parliament believe its removal will ease tensions in the critical areas. The Ossetians believe that, on the contrary, the measure will further escalate armed conflict and allow a repeat storming of Tsikhinvali.

Russian Security Guarantees Questioned

LD2611121491 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 25 Nov 91

["TV Inform" report by N. Ivanov and A. Letichevskiy]

[Text] According to North Ossetian Ministry of Internal Affairs reports, Georgia today fired at passing vehicles and the military post near the southern entrance of the tunnel connecting North and South Ossetia. There is no information about casualties.

Against the background of such reports, preparations are now under way in Vladikavkaz for the congress of Ossetian people scheduled for 29 November. Not everyone here is convinced of the necessity of such a congress because of fears that creating the governing bodies of the elders in parallel to the official authorities could repeat the situation in the Chechen Republic where General Dudayev came to power. Various rumors add to the heat of the situation.

[Begin G. Kozayev recording, captioned as Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic people's deputy] A rumor is in circulation now that on 1 December, Yeltsin will sign a decree creating the Ingush Republic, with the center situated in the right-hand side [as heard] of the city of Vladikavkaz. Of course, I do not think that such a far from sensible decree will be signed. Nobody would abide by such a decree. This would amount to a declaration of war between these peoples.

Basically, I think that the Russian and Ossetian peoples should sit down at the negotiating table, sort everything out between themselves and their neighbors—the Chechens and others—and discuss the possibility of a peaceful solution. [end recording]

In Vladikavkaz itself, where until only recently the houses with the cross of Jesus and the crescent of Mohammed existed peacefully side by side, a rare person ventures into the streets after dark. The question asked here today is: Will Russia guarantee the security of the Ossetian population should the Ingush attempt a raid on the Vladikavkaz suburbs?

Kazakhstan

Presidential Election Campaign Reviewed

PM2611145391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Nov 91 Union Edition p 2

[Report by correspondent V. Ardayev: "Kazakhstan: Disposition of Forces on Eve of Elections"]

[Text] Alma-Ata—All the most influential political parties and mass public movements of Kazakhstan have determined their positions at the forthcoming 1 December nationwide elections of the republic's president.

The Socialist Party of Kazakhstan created on the basis of the remains of the communist party, the "Azat" civil movement, and the republican party to which it has given rise have urged their members and supporters to support N. Nazarbayev's candidacy with their votes. The activists of the People's Congress Party which is in the process of formation have nothing against the sole candidate to the post of president. The independent "Birlesu" ("Unification") trade union of entrepreneurs, lessees, and cooperative members has also supported him. In all, according to sociologists, N. Nazarbayev is supported by up to 90 percent of Kazakhstan inhabitants.

Nonetheless there is no absolute uniformity in the political palette. From the start of the election campaign N. Nazarbayev has been opposed by the "Zheltoksan" national-democratic party and the "Alash" party of national independence, which have tried to put forward their own candidate who, incidentally, did not collect the necessary 100,000 votes during the nomination period. The main complaint the national-radicals have against N. Nazarabayev is is deviation from the interests of the indigenous nation. At the same time the directly opposite rebuke was leveled against him by representatives of the alternative political wing—the interethnic "Unity" movement.

Literally a week before the elections the participants in that movement's conference adopted a resolution urging the supporters of "Unity" to vote against N. Nazarbayev at the elections, since in their opinion he has paid no heed to the idea of building a democratic civil state in the republic but is building a national-democratic state in Kazakhstan. In addition the conference adopted a further two resolutions. One concerns language policy—it raises the question of creating a more reliable organizational-material base for the mass study of the Kazakh language and at the same time the question of giving the Russian language state language status. The other resolution is aimed against declaring 17-18 December as a memorial date (to perpetuate the memory of the events of December 1986 in Alma-Ata). The "Unity" activists believe the present attitude toward these events to be a falsification of what actually happened five years ago in the Kazakh capital. The day after the conference a further conference was held where, under "Unity" auspices, a new party of democratic progress was instituted, which has proclaimed as its main task the creation of favorable political conditions for forming a free individual and a citizen with full rights in a democratic society.

As we can see, the majority is ensured for N. Nazarbayev in the elections, which are less than a week away. Primarily by the mass of the population and the political trends which are trying to keep as close as possible to the center.

89 Percent Favor Nazarbayev

LD2311041991 Moscow TASS in English 1326 GMT 22 Nov 91

[By KAZTAG correspondent Vladimir Akimov]

[Text] Alma-Ata November 22 TASS—The overwhelming majority of the people of Kazakhstan want to see Nursultan Nazarbayev as president after the December 1 elections. 89 percent of voters polled by the republican social research centre said they stand in favour of the incumbent president.

Nazarbayev is the only candidate at the coming elections.

3.6 percent of those polled said they do not see any other politician in the republic worthy of becoming president.

Kazakh poet Olzas Suleimenov, who was another candidate, said he cannot compete with Nazarbayev and withdrew from the elections. Suleimenov won only 2.5 percent popularity among voters, the poll said.

Nursultan Nazarbayev will undoubtedly be elected the Kazakh president for a new term.

Nazarbayev Comments on Political Situation

PM2711100191 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 23 Nov 91 p 1

[Interview with Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev by Ye. Dotsuk in Alma-Ata under the "Top People: Kazakhstan" rubric; date of interview not stated: "The President's Solo Party"]

[Text] Alma-Ata—Nursultan Nazarbayev's popularity rating in the republic is currently very high—around 90 percent. However, after the Kazakhstan presidential election slated for 1 December even he will have to carefully husband his popularity to ensure that there is enough of it for unpopular steps. These can no longer be avoided: He will have to ensure the radical economic reform has "its feet on the ground," bringing it down from the heights of theoretical conclusions and plans to machine tools and pastures. A tough approach (and who likes this?) will also be needed to make democracy law-abiding.

In preparation for my interview with N. Nazarbayev, I traveled with him through several western oblasts of

Kazakhstan, where, during meetings with voters, he warned of future unemployment, soaring prices, and a temporary worsening of living standards. Unfortunately, this trip left me feeling that Nazarbayev still lacks a reliable team. At the "local level" there is tacit resistance to "capitalism," although the president is greeted with loyal speeches. It is becoming obvious that unless he succeeds in the near future in establishing at local level authorities that implement presidential decrees and the new laws, the reforms will mark time indefinitely. And then any popularity he enjoys will melt away in a matter of weeks.

[Dotsuk] Nursultan Abishevich, in recent years Kazakhstan has been held up as something of an example: Here, they say, is a republic which is moving consistently, step by step toward the market. There are grounds for saying this. But when will these reforms become a reality for ordinary Kazakhstaners?

[Nazarbayev] This is a very important question, and I would like to give a clear-cut answer to it. But the answer depends on a number of things, and first and foremost we should mention the economic community. Without this the transition to a market economy will be many times more difficult for everybody. We have a single currency, and we can only normalize our common budget by retaining a single economic area. Under no circumstances should we allow the economic warfare whose sinister signs have already begun to appear to break out among ourselves. The other day, for example, I learned that Ufa has decided to close an oil pipeline. People from Irkutsk turned up saying they would not dispatch any timber. Then what will happen—will Kustanay refuse to give Magnitogorsk ore, will Pavlodar refuse to supply Novosibirsk with aluminum, will we refuse to ship 100 million tonnes of coal to Russian power stations? Of course, we too can start shipping crude oil abroad across the Caspian, but where does that get us? What do we gain by bringing each other to our knees? This is why I have struggled and am struggling to ensure we stay together.

The view has been voiced that Kazakhstan is choking off grain in order to sell it abroad. This is untrue. During this unfortunate year we had a terribly bad harvest, gathering in only 13 million tonnes (compared with 31 million tonnes last year). Now we are sitting here wondering where to find the dollars to buy the missing grain...

I am not answering your question very clearly, but you must understand: Everything is interconnected. Of course, if as a republic that produces bread, meat, and milk, we do not fully provide Kazakhstaners with all these things in the near future, why work at all? We cannot wait any longer, we have to make the peasant the master of the land and the livestock as a matter of urgency—all the laws to make this happen were written and adopted long ago.

[Dotsuk] But in no way are they being implemented...

[Nazarbayev] That's exactly the point. It is very unpalatable, but I am coming to the conclusion that we must apply pressure from above and for people to carry out privatization before next spring. It seems this habit of working under orders and pressure from above is still indestructible.

[Dotsuk] Incidentally, whenever you leave Alma-Ata a kind of dead season begins in the city. Nobody hurries to make decisions, people try to sit things out in the shadows until the boss gets back. There is nobody in your absence who can clarify the republic's position on any situation that arises unexpectedly. From this point of view, how do you assess your team?

[Nazarbayev] Is it really like this?! I must confess that you have told me an unpleasant piece of news. However, is there anything surprising about it? The existing system is robust enough, but people still remain in the grip of the past. Major changes took place in our government recently, we have a new premier, and other cadre changes will follow...

[Dotsuk] Does this mean you are only just starting to put together your team?

[Nazarbayev] Essentially, yes. To tell the truth, I have always been afraid to take painful measures. Moreover, I hoped that in the new conditions experienced cadres would begin to work in a different way. I won't hide the fact, I expected decent people to resign if they found they could not cope.

[Dotsuk] Mikhail Sergeyevich also expected this for a long time. But nothing like this happened in Moscow, and it is not happening in Kazakhstan either.

[Nazarbayev] Alas not. Possibly the hardest task is still ahead of me—the establishment of a body of supporters at local level. People who support me not just on economic questions, but also in interethnic policy, for example. Without interethnic harmony nothing will be achieved.

[Dotsuk] While you were in London, the "Zheltoksan" national-democratic party collected signatures to register a rival contender for the post of president of Kazakhstan. Admittedly, by the appointed deadline he did not have the necessary number of votes to get himself registered...

[Nazarbayev] I always favored an alternative to my candidacy. Kh. Kozhakhmetov's program contains things I entirely agree with—the republic's sovereignty, for example. But there is much of it I cannot agree with. That applies precisely to interethnic relations and questions of citizenship and migration. On this issue I take a firm stand—we should recognize the equality of all nations living in Kazakhstan. It is precisely this approach which makes the Kazakh nation respected in the world and confirms it as a nation building a civilized and democratic state. Today nobody wants to have any sort of economic relations with unstable regions. I will never call any of the people living in Kazakhstan

migrants. And I advise others not to do so. On the contrary, I feel a sense of pride that Russians, Ukrainians, and Armenians are not leaving for the Ukraine, Russia, and Armenia, but are staying here to live with us, which means they feel comfortable here. The exodus of Germans from the republic causes me particular pain. They are skillful, industrious people, and I do not really want to let them go, so we are trying to open German kindergartens and classes.

I do not very much like the words "Russian-speaking" and "indigenous." I see all Kazakhstaners as citizens of one state. And God grant that nobody will stir up Kazakhstan on ethnic grounds. It would be far worse than Yugoslavia. Why is is that some people do not understand this? With them it is either black or white. This is why some people go around with placards saying "Nazarbayev is a Cossack hetman" and others fear the law on languages like the plague. Although our law is democratic, provided its main point is not misrepresented: Yes, the Kazakh nation's language is on the decline and it must be revived, but it is nonsense to claim that people are being fired because they do not know Kazakh, the law says nothing about this.

[Dotsuk] There is one more question which, in spite of explanations, continues to trouble me. The question of nuclear weapons. Kazakhstan, which fought against the nuclear test site for so long, retains strategic missiles on its territory. A Committee for Defense Affairs has been established in the republic. Why such tough decisions?

[Nazarbayev] I believe that the closure of the nuclear test site is a tremendous service by Kazakhstan to the entire planet. We have destroyed this monster that crippled people and threatened the whole world. And I believe that other states will follow our example. As far as the missiles are concerned, talk of any seizure of the weapons is laughable. There has never been any question of this. But even the transfer of these missiles from one place to another would require huge sums of money that neither we nor the Russians possess. What are we supposed to do, bring in Western capital for this purpose? Well then, I hope we have reached final agreement at the State Council about control of the nuclear button. Gorbachev has the attache case, and no one is threatening peace.

And the Committee for Defense Affairs sprang up out of necessity—with the disappearance of the center in its previous sense many military questions remained outside our control: defense industry enterprises, several of the armies stationed on our territory, and the civil defense service. We intend to establish our own republic guard. The chairman of our committee will be on the USSR Armed Forces General Staff. Under no circumstances is this a militarized committee, Kazakhstan has no intention of waging war on anyone, we have no claims on anyone else, we want to live in friendship with our neighbors.

[Dotsuk] Since the conversation has come round to neighbors, say a few words about your attitude to B.N. Yeltsin's post-August policy. Do you have the same good relations as before?

[Nazarbayev] Right now, of course, Russia has a great many intractable problems, especially in relation to its internal state structure. I hope Russia will resolve them in an appropriate manner. As we know, the former center pursued a disgraceful policy in the republics—as soon as discontent sprang up somewhere interethnic conflict was immediately provoked and people were kept in fear. I do not think that a democratic Russia will stoop to such a policy. We must firmly grasp that the revision of borders and other points which cause tension and suspicion between different peoples promise no one anything but misfortunes—blood, tears, refugees, and destruction...

We retain good relations with Boris Nikolayevich. The main thing—and I tell him this all the time—is to ensure that all our agreements are observed. Of course, I support his radical economic reform, but on condition that all the republics act in a coordinated way. The news that Russian prices were to be freed, for example, came as a complete surprise to me—after all, we had just signed an economic agreement and decided on the next steps we were going to take, and suddenly we were faced with this surprise. We are now forecasting the situation and seeking a way out.

[Dotsuk] Surely in the new situation Kazakhstan will try to find a reliable ally in the shape of the Ukraine?

[Nazarbayev] I do not think the Ukraine can remain outside this community, the new Union of states which is currently being established. And consequently I am very much relying on Kravchuk, I regard him as a reasonable and sane politician, there is mutual understanding between us. Taking advantage of KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA's popularity, I would like to wish him success in the upcoming election.

[Dotsuk] The Kazakh SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] is keeping these three letters in its name as in the past, and, moreover, it was one of the last republics to declare itself independent. Nevertheless, do you hope to be able to unite the former republics more solidly than by the Treaty on the Economic Community?

[Nazarbayev] Whether you like this association or not, reason prompts us to the conclusion that it is both natural and necessary. I understand republics that are tired of totalitarianism and want only one thing—to feel free and independent. Time is needed for this fear to pass. But I am sure we will establish a single state without fail. And as far as our independence is concerned.... When everyone around us became independent, it turned out that we were independent as well. But seriously, issues like our constitution and our name should be examined by our parliament. Although we

have an old name, I don't think this is a handicap. After all, are you going to keep the name KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA?

Nazarbayev Visits Karaganda; Discusses Reform

LD2611215191 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1610 GMT 26 Nov 91

[From the "Panorama" program]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Now, we shall talk in more detail about the preelection tour by the candidate for president of Kazakhstan, President Nazarbayev. He is meeting with the workers of Karaganda oblast today. I can already hear a rustling noise on our lines, which means that Karaganda is there, and our correspondent Gennadiy Sytykh should be there in the studio. Good evening. I do not know what the time difference is between here and Karaganda: two or three hours?

[Sytykh] Good evening, it's three hours. I can hear you clearly. Kazakhstan will have the first popular presidential election in its history on 1 December. Karaganda is already the eleventh oblast which our candidate has visited in the election campaign, and Nursultan Abishevich named the town of Temir-Tau as his first stop today. It is his home town. [passage omitted]

Of course, he was given a very warm, cordial reception. There were meetings at a combine, at the metalworkers' palace, and then with representatives of workers' collectives in Karaganda. [passage omitted]

There were complaints that perestroyka is not producing the expected results. Here is what Nursultan Abishevich had to say on this point in his speech in the hall of the Karaganda Oblast drama theater. It has only just ended.

[Begin Nazarbayev recording] Perestroyka brought the whole world round to our side. The fact that we were unlucky with the leaders of our state during the period of perestroyka is another matter. They did not lead us along the correct path. We rushed from one program to the next. We continued to believe in the omnipotence of the center. We all trusted in what we were told, that we would make it and do everything together. We were unlucky with those who led us, including, of course, Gorbachev and those around him.

Recently, the world-famous economist Lee Kuan Yew, the leader for 30 years of the government of the flourishing state of Singapore, whom I invited to Kazakhstan to give lectures to our economists, said bluntly: The whole world welcomes perestroyka; you have finally embarked on the right path, but you have put the cart before the horse in this work. Everybody who has switched to this type of economy has begun with the economy, with improving people's lives, but you began with democracy or glasnost. [applause]

Of course, I cannot but agree with that. We all fought doggedly, and we have obtained what we fought for: there is no power at the center, and we have put an end to all the Moscow ministries. Every republic is engaged in establishing its sovereignty and autonomy. I am also asked why Kazakhstan does not declare independence. I answer: Because all the others have done so, we have automatically become independent. [applause] And the economic ties which existed for decades have been severed, relations have been broken, and complaints have arisen between republics. It is hard. This is not the best time to be elected president, I tell you bluntly. [end recording]

[Sytykh] Speaking about the prospects for subsequent development, the candidate said:

[Begin Nazarbayev recording] We have had enough of dealing with isms and of being frightened with talk of capitalism and private ownership. If our system was the very best, as it has been rammed down our throats since childhood, please, tell me this: Our fathers won the last war, we destroyed the fascist machine and smashed that state, so why are we now in the back seat compared to that state? We do not know when we shall catch up now with Germany's present standard of living. So, where is the justice, and where is the normal path? Thus, there remains one path, the path along which the whole world is moving, the path of the switch to the market.

Its essence is to give freedom to each person, and primarily to each enterprise. When we say that Union industry has passed to the republics, this does not mean that because there are no ministries in Moscow now, the Kazakhstan Council of Ministers is going to do exactly the same—hold it back and not let it go. The very point of it is that the legislator should produce laws which give it conditions of complete freedom. Its only dealings with the state, with the Government of Kazakhstan, should be to pay its taxes: pay your taxes, and you can work wherever you like in the world.

Each worker must be given the opportunity to set up in business and to begin independently creating the best life for himself, whether by participating in a joint-stock company, or by opening his own business, or however he wants to do it. All the conditions necessary for this must be created by laws, so that each person may himself be responsible for his life, for improving his life, for his family, for everything.

We have raised 300 million people in the ways of living off somebody else: everybody will have all social guarantees, just lie back, and he who works hard for eight hours will receive the same wage as he who twiddles his thumbs. In market conditions, a talented person, an enterprising, highly qualified doer, will not have a bad life. The idler and sponger, though, will. Isn't that fair?

We want the peasant to receive his own business, to be subject to pressure from nobody, and to have land, to take as much as he can, and to sell as much as he can and wherever he can. And unlike some republics, we have no intention of destroying collective and state farms which

are operating profitably—very profitably—and are providing that output. But even these state farms must be reorganized, cooperatives must appear within these state farms, and the director must not be the director of today, but he must be the director of a union of cooperatives. How can a person be made to work otherwise? In the cooperatives too, he must receive only what he has earned. If he has not earned it, he must be ruined and go bankrupt, turn into a beggar. How could it be any different? There will be no subsidies for loss-makers after 1 January: that will be that. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Nazarbayev Reassures Semipalatinsk Staff

PM2211160791 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 Nov 91 First Edition p 1

[Report from KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, TASS roundup under "Direct Line" rubric: "Difficult Dialogue"]

[Text] Kurchatov—Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev had a difficult dialogue with officers, scientists, and family members of workers at the Semipalatinsk nuclear test site, which was closed down a few months ago. During his campaign tour of the republic he visited Kurchatov City.

The end of testing does not mean that the republic's government is indifferent to the future of the highly skilled specialists and the entire city population, the Kazakh president stressed at the meeting. According to him, a scientific research center under republic-Union jurisdiction will be operating in Kurchatov whose range of activities should be varied and long term—ranging from joint research with foreign scientists in the field of testing nuclear power industry installations to forecasting earthquakes.

Moreover, enormous coal reserves have been discovered on the territory of the test site.

Prosecutor Objects To Transfer of Facilities

PM2611165591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Nov 91 Union Edition p 2

[IZVESTIYA correspondent V. Ardayev report: "Kazakh General Prosecutor's Statement"]

[Text] Alma-Ata—Kazakh General Prosecutor Zh. Tuyakbayev has circulated in the mass media his statement on the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet resolution on prosecutor's office organs.

While responding understandingly to the fact that Russia is reinforcing prosecutor's office organs, Zh. Tuyakbayev nevertheless described as impudent the unilateral transfer to one republic of USSR Prosecutor's Office facilities—such as the institute for research into problems of supervision by the prosecutor's office, the institute for boosting the qualifications of prosecutor's office personnel, and the boarding house in the Moscow area. In Zh. Tuyakbayev's opinion, this is no more than a bid for one republic to own something belonging to all former subjects of the USSR.

In his statement the Kazakh general prosecutor raised the question of setting up a corresponding interrepublic organ to coordinate the activity of prosecutor's offices in the sovereign states that intend to join the future Union.

Iran's Velayati Discusses Cooperation

LD2711121191 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran First Program Network in Persian 1030 GMT 27 Nov 91

[Central News Unit report from Alma-Ata]

[Text] Foreign Minister Mr. Velayati met and conferred with the prime minister of the Republic of Kazakhstan in Alma-Ata this morning. In the course of this meeting the prime minister of Kazakhstan announced that country's readiness for cooperation in the fields of roads, tranportation, cultural exchange, broadcast of television programs between the two countries, exchange of geological information, and irrigation.

Mr. Velayati welcomed the Kazakhstan's prime minister's proposals, and asked the accompanying deputies and experts to investigate the possibility of cooperation in the said fields and to write down the framework of bilateral cooperation in a memorandum of understanding.

It is necessary to mention that Dr. Velayati will deliver a speech at Farabi University this afternoon.

Kyrgyzstan

U.S. Military Attache Tours Republic 20-22 Nov

LD2311042791 Moscow TASS in English 2138 GMT 22 Nov 91

[By KIRTAG correspondent Kylychbek Dosumbetov]

[Text] Bishkek November 22 TASS—Military attache under the U.S. Embassy in the USSR John Reppert came to Kyrgyzia on a acquaintance visit between November 20 and 22.

He met Kyrgyzian vice-president, heads of the National Security Committee and the Interior Ministry, and the commander of the Bishkek garrison.

Reppert expressed his interest in the system of interaction between the republican State Committee on National Security and the Interior Ministry, personnel training, organisation of anti-crime operations, and the political situation in the republic.

Representatives of the local law enforcement bodies expressed their wish to cooperate with U.S. colleagues, namely, to exchange specialists and receive help in

equipping their formations with modern technical means. Reppert willingly agreed to inform the U.S. Administration on their wish.

On the same day, the U.S. military attache left for Moscow.

Tajikistan

Presidential Vote Tallies Detailed

OW2611233591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1730 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The presidential election in Tajikistan has been won by the candidate of the Socialist (former Communist) Party Rakhman Nabiyev. According to the preliminary results published by the republic's Electoral Board, he has 56.92% of the votes cast in the ballots. His rival, the candidate of the united opposition, Davlat Khudonazarov, has gained 30.7% of votes.

The election was attended by over 2,203,000 voters, that is 84.6

of the electorate.

D. Khudonazarov has launched a protest to the republic's Supreme Soviet and the Central Electoral Board against "the available facts of breaches of law during the election." An operative group has been set up to investigate those cases within five days and give its conclusion on the matter. The final election results will be made public after that.

Khudonazarov Protests

LD2711002891 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 0005 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Excerpt] Davlat Khudonazarov, candidate for the post of president of the Republic of Tajikistan, protested the results of the 24 November election which ended with the victory of Rakhman Nabiyev. He said this during a news conference held on 25 November attended by Soviet and foreign journalists. Davlat Khudonazarov informed the audience that the law on the election of the president of the Republic of Tajikistan has not been observed. He also said that his (?group) has information, photos, and video cassettes showing incidents of giving voters ballot papers without any documents. On election day in some (?constituencies), contrary to the law, propaganda was conducted against (?opposition) candidates.

Khudonazarov expressed doubt in the validity of vote counts in booths where observers were not allowed. According to him, 10-15 percent of votes are invalid. In the name of the candidate, an official protest has been lodged with the republican Supreme Soviet and the republican election commission demanding that the election be considered invalid. Davlat Khudonazarov said that during his pre-election meetings he was always asked: What would he do in the event of a victory for another candidate, and whether the people gathering in the square would bring pressure on the victorious candidate? He, realizing the [words indistinct] abovementioned question by the audience, called on his supporters to be calm, not to use force, and to act in accordance with the law.

Participants of the news conference expressed interest in future plans and actions of the former candidate along with his views on Tajikistan's economic and political situation. Davlat Khudonazarov said that he would continue his political activities and is in favor of uniting the democratic forces. In his opinion, it is not easy to foresee the future state of the republic. To a large extent, this depends on the actions of the present rulers. It should be added that in view of the commission, the election was held under normal conditions and the law was observed. This was also confirmed by observers from other sovereign republics such as Kazakhstan, Krgyzstan, Latvia, Ukraine, Uzbekistan, Russian, Armenia and Georgia. [passages omitted]

Khudonazarov Discusses Election

PM2611120591 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 22 Nov 91 p 1

[Interview with Tajik presidential candidate Davlat Khudonazarov by correspondent U. Babakhanov; place and date not given: "Davlat Khudonazarov: To Stay on the Sidelines Is Criminal"]

[Text] The presidential election marathon in Tajikistan has entered its final phase—the republic will name the winner 24 November. There are currently eight contenders for the highest state post. They include an academic, a businessman, a minister, and even a warehouse chief. However, according to local observers' assessments, the main rivals in the struggle are Rakhman Nabiyev, the republic's former party leader, and D. Khudonazarov, chairman of the USSR Union of Cinematographers. Our correspondent met with Davlat Khudonazarov.

[Babakhanov] Davlat Nazarovich, present-day Tajikistan's burden of problems is so intractable that the republic's next president is being likened to a kamikaze...

[Khudonazarov] I admit that at first I did not intend to run. I wanted to support the candidacy of Negmatullayev, president of the republic Academy of Sciences, or of Turayev, leader of the "Khimat" concern. However, the former categorically refused to run and the latter had not made up his mind at that time. Democratic forces were left without their own candidate. And the old party and state nomenklatura, whose position in the republic is still strong, decided to take revenge for April 1985. It is now fully determined to install its candidate. That would be a tragedy for the republic. To stay on the sidelines, as I saw it, is criminal.

[Babakhanov] Your candidacy was supported not only by the republic's Democratic Party and the "Rastokhez" people's movement but also by the Muslim clergy, the Islamic Revival Party...

[Khudonazarov] Islamic political movements in Central Asia are a reality which any politician has to reckon with. To ignore them is to create seats of tension. Our Muslim leaders support democratic transformations and favor a secular rule-of-law state. It is necessary to cooperate with them.

[Babakhanov] Until recently you were a member of the CPSU Central Committee. What is your attitude to the Communist Party now?

[Khudonazarov] I represented the left, democratic wing in the CPSU Central Committee. However, all my recent illusions about reforming the CPSU disappeared after the memorable party Central Committee plenums when the nomenklatura tried to remove Gorbachev. That was when I handed in my resignation from the Central Committee.

[Babakhanov] Conflicts—social, political, and national—are the invariable concomitants of poverty. The foreign national population is already quitting the republic. This what is most worrying...

[Babakhanov] The raw material republics will be in the most disastrous position with the transition to the market. Tajikistan included. Therefore national and political accord is a matter of life and death for us. If we can agree we will boost the economy, if not, blood will flow. But if the entire Tajik people suddenly starts to oppress an Uzbek, I will be on the Uzbek's side. If a Russian is insulted in the republic, I will be on his side.

[Babakhanov] How do you rate your chances in the election?

[Khudonazarov] Unlike some people, I do not enjoy the support of state and government structures to provide me with helicopters for campaigning. My team is one of romantics and disinterested people: students, journalists, poets. Unfortunately, packs of lies are being spread around the republic via official state channels and party channels, which are still operating. They are lying selectively: They are telling Russians that I am a nationalist, they are telling Tajik women that I am a Muslim fanatic who wants to put yashmaks on them, and on the contrary they are trying to convince peasants that I am not a Muslim but Moscow's stooge. It takes time to sort out the truth from the lies. But there is very little time...

Muslim Leader Opposes Islamic State

AU2511125391 Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 22 Nov 91 p 7

[Interview with Kazikolon Khodzhi Akbar Turadzhonsoda, chairman of the Kazyat, the religious leadership of the Muslims in Tajikistan, by Manfred Quiring in Dushanbe; date not given: "We Do Not Want an Islamic State"]

[Text] [Quiring] Shortly before the presidential elections the Islamic Party of Rebirth was founded in Tajikistan. Is there now an Islamic state in the offing in your republic?

[Turadzhonsoda] At the moment it is often claimed that we want to establish an Islamic state. Both the Kazyat and "Rebirth" allegedly have this goal. This is absolutely wrong. Even though I am not a member of the party, I know the party leaders very well. They, too, are convinced that one must not set this goal for oneself. The people are not yet ready for that. And the experience of the Communist Party shows that one must not try to make the people "happy" from above. The goal of the Kazyat and of the Islamic Party is, therefore, to let Islam reemerge as a belief among the population. However, I do not want to rule out that there are people among the simple members of the Islamic Party who are dreaming of the establishment of an Islamic state. My personal credo is: Islam must not be a state religion, it must exist separately from the state.

[Quiring] You said that the Tajiks are "not yet" ready to live in an Islamic state. Does this mean that one just renounces this goal temporarily for tactical reasons?

[Turadzhonsoda] No, not at all. We only want a reemergence of the Muslim belief, of religious ethics. We want the people to become good believers.

[Quiring] In your view, which path should Tajikistan follow in the future?

[Turadzhonsoda] Our future state should be democratic, respect human rights, and must have entrepreneurship. Our Islamic religion is to be equal to the religions of the Christians and Jews and to other religions. We do not need an Islamic state.

My conviction is based on several factors. First, the world is worried in view of the idea that Islamic states might develop on the former territory of the Soviet Union. The democratic parties in Russia do not want that, and the same goes for the Western states; even some Islamic states are against it. We, however, want to cultivate unreservedly good relations with everyone. Second, there are about 500,000 Russians in Tajikistan. An Islamic state would restrict their rights to a certain extent. However, if the rights of minorities are restricted, democracy cannot exist.

And very serious consequences, an economic boycott for instance, cannot be ruled out, either. We are simply not able to get out of our disastrous economic situation on our own. We need the other states; above all, we need Russia.

[Quiring] This means the example of Iran is not an alternative for the Tajik Muslims?

[Turadzhonsoda] This is impossible. The conditions are completely different. In Iran there never was a Communist Party in power. The 70-year predominance of atheism has had an effect on our country.

Today the people are afraid of an Islamic regime, and why should one make the people afraid?

[Quiring] In my talks in Dushanbe it became clear that the Russian-speaking population nevertheless fears the Islamic version.

[Turadzhonsoda] They are deliberately being frightened with this prospect. In particular the Communists are the ones who try to frighten the people with that. I have repeatedly addressed the people via the Russian-language media and asked them not to believe these provocations.

[Quiring] Does the Muslim society have contacts with the Russian population in Tajikistan as regards this problem?

[Turadzhonsoda] Just recently we had a round table with representatives of other religions, the Russian-Orthodox, the Baptists, and others. We explained our positions, and they believed us.

[Quiring] In your view, how much influence does Islam have in Tajikistan at the moment?

[Turadzhonsoda] More than 80 percent of the people are Islamic believers. However, the people understand religion in their way: They do not want the women to wear the chador again and to sit at the hearth, they reject polygamy, and they are afraid that human rights will be restricted if Islam comes to power. This at least is what they have been taught. Psychologically, they are not at all ready to support an Islamic state.

[Quiring] You have already publicly advocated the support of film director Davlat Khudonazarov at the forthcoming presidential elections. Why do you support him, he is not a member of the Islamic Party?

[Turadzhonsoda] You know, during the August putsch he was even a member of the CPSU Central Committee. He has never been a really pious man. On the contrary, he has always been quite removed from Islam.

Nevertheless, I support him because of his democratic views. I respect him as a person who is able to struggle against the party nomenklatura in Tajikistan. I do not see any other man. Nabiyev (party chairman until 1985—the author), on the other hand, is the symbol of the resurrection of the formerly ruling Communist Party. I reject this categorically. We simply do not permit this anymore—but in a democratic and constitutional way.

[Quiring] Is your support already the guarantee that Khudonazarov will win at the elections?

[Turadzhonsoda] No, I am even a bit afraid that Nabiyev will win. Still, I support Khudonazarov, because there must not be a return to the old command methods, as they are represented by Nabiyev. He is a man of the past, who cannot give any new stimuli to the country.

[Quiring] What will happen if Nabiyev becomes the first freely elected president of Tajikistan?

[Turadzhonsoda] This would be very bitter, but we would accept the election result and go into opposition.

Trade, Economic Treaty With Lithuania Signed

LD2611192891 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1300 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Text] A treaty on trade and economic cooperation for 1992 has been signed by Tajikistan and Lithuania. In particular, the parties have agreed to promote the establishment of direct economic ties between enterprises, regardless of their form of ownership. Accounts will be settled in rubles, according to agreed fixed prices. The treaty also envisages the guaranteeing of advance supplies of all products in the first quarter of next year in the same volume as the previous year.

Border Troops Deny Penetration by Afghan Group

LD2611150591 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1200 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Text] A TASS correspondent was told today by the border troops' press service that the information about an armed Afghan opposition group penetrating the territory of Tajikistan, as published on 25 November by PRAVDA, has not been corroborated. However, from 20 to 25 November seven intruders were detained on the Soviet-Afghan border. In total, 893 persons have been detained since the beginning of the year, which is double the number for the same period of last year.

Turkmenia

Communist Party Central Committee Plenum Held

PM2611110591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Nov 91 p 2

[Report by correspondent M. Volkov: "I Shall Go Underground"]

[Text] Turkmenistan—This statement was made at a plenum of the Turkmenistan Communist Party Central Committee by D. Poltayeva, a party veteran of 70 years' standing.

It should be noted that this was obviously the last plenum of one of the CPSU's last "combat detachments." It lasted for two days in Ashkhabad. The Central Committee members assembled to discuss the agenda of the Communist Party's forthcoming December congress, which is to decide the party's further fate.

Perhaps for the first time in recent years there was not the traditional unanimity which some mass media interpreted as the result of the communist regime. At the plenum it was primarily officials, including Turkmenistan President S. Niyazov, who fought for the cessation of the Communist Party's activity.

But in addition to D. Poltayeva, who reminded the gathering that communist parties had been banned only by Mussolini, Hitler, and Yeltsin, there were many opponents of the abolition of the Turkmenistan Communist Party. They link with its activity the creation of the first state in the history of the Turkmen people, the construction of the Karakum canal named for V.I. Lenin, many achievements of science, the development of culture, and, most importantly, the fate of several generations.

And nonetheless a compromise was found. The plenum decided to transform the communist party into a democratic party of the parliamentary type with its own statutes and program. Those who want to remain Communists can unite, since literally the other day the republic's parliament adopted a law on public organizations. So they do not need to go underground.